

HAILGAN



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI CO-OPERATIVES MOVEMENT

◦ Eritrea: struggle
For independence

◦ Somali women
and culture

◦ The statute of the Organisation
of somali Cooperatives

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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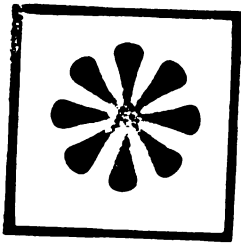
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EDITORIAL NOTES

77: A YEAR CROWNED WITH SUCCESS

In the Editorial of the Dec. Issue 1976, we predicted that 1977 will be a year of important achievements for the Somali people. 1976 have marked the convening of the first congress of the SRSP on first July which has special significance of its own for the Somali nation. It is the day that the Southern Region of the Republic gained independence, also it is the day of the re-unification of the two parts of Somalia.

In late 1976 the establishment of the SRSP was materialised throughout the Republic. On the months of August and September delegations led by Central Committee members paid official visits to the Districts and Regions of the country to witness elections of different committees of the SRSP.

1977 has began with consolidation of the struggle of Western Somali Liberation Forces against the black colonialism of Abyssinia.

Consequently, the third plenary session of the CC took place, and adopted important resolutions. The session examined the achievement of the programmes carried out in the previous year. The Secretary-General of SRSP gave a report in which he analysed the present political, economic and social situation of the Country. Jaalle Siyad speaking on the role of the SRSP said. «As its name indicates the party is a revolutionary one. It came out through the class struggle of the masses and based on the objective realities governing our society. The bitter struggle of our people for independence is an integral part of the world revolutionary movement against capitalism and imperialism». In his report the Secretary-General also discussed different issues of international and local significance.

On March 1977, the congress of the Somali Women Democratic Union was held at the Police Academy between 4th to 7th.

In his opening speech the Secretary-General of SRSP outlined the heroic role played by Somali women during the struggle for freedom and how they participated actively in the different national uprisings starting from the time of Ahmed Gurey to the present struggle for the liberation and unity of the Somali nation. Jaalle

Siyad said: «I want to make it clear that there wasn't a single victory won over the enemy that the women *did* not indeed take the most significant part. Likewise, they played a major role in the development and construction of the country.

Delegations representing international and national organisations participated in the Congress. The congress elected the national committee and the executive committee of the SWDO.

On April, the first congress of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions was held in Jaalle Siad Military Academy. It was attended by delegates representing workers of all the Districts, and Regions of the Country.

The Secretary-General delivered a speech in which he traced back the history of the Somali working class. He also pointed out role played by the workers in the struggle of the Somali nation.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the 21st October Revolution provided Somali Workers with the opportunity to participate in the construction of the society.

On the 12th-14th of May the Congress of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) was held in Jaalle Siyad Military Academy. The participants in the Congress were 628 delegates representing different strata of the Youth. Delegations from International Youth Organisations also attended as observers.

On the 8th of May a referendum was held in Jabuti in which the over-whelming majority of the people voted for freedom and independence. In the mean time, the parliamentary elections for the new Republic were also held.

The Somali Democratic Republic took a historical and honourable stand in the struggle of the people of Jabuti for independence.

For the last six-months of 1977 the political atmosphere of the Horn of Africa was shadowed by the liberation wars going on in Ethiopia and carried out by the movements of Somali West, Abbo. Afar and Eritrea.

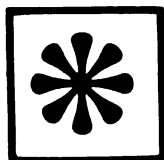
The Horn of Africa has become a hot spot endangering peace and security in Africa and the world in general.

The Secretary-General of the SRSP had on many occasions appealed to the Addis Ababa regime not to create an atmosphere of conflict, and seek a peaceful solution to the problems prevailing in the area.

The situation was further aggravated by the direct interference of Foreign parties namely, the Soviet Union, Cuba and others who

amassed large quantities of sophisticated weapons as well as troops in support of the Ethiopian regime.

In retrospect, due to the new developmnets in the Horn of Africa, the CC of the SRSP after having an extraordinary session on 13 Nov. 1977, abrogated the Somali-Soviet friendship treaty and severed diplomatic relations with Cuba, as a result of their hostile and unfriendly behaviour manifested by these two States against the paramount interest of the Somali nation.



AT LAST!!

Whenever international politics is analysed honest people who cherish and love peace are bewildered by the double standards manifested by the super-power and their methods of manipulating it. If we take the question of the Horn as an example, it was abundantly clear before hand, the antagonistic forces and their respective objectives in opposing each other.

On the one hand, they are the Western Somali national liberation forces, who are liberating their motherland and on the other the Abyssinian who want to perpetuate their colonialism ad infinitum!!

Hence, if a correct and a just solution is wanted for the question of the Horn, then the above mentioned facts are the essence of the problem. The Soviet Union, Cuba and their allies are deliberately evading the existing facts by opting for their global strategy in supporting the Abyssinian in their unjust goals of perpetuating their colonialism in Western Somali. Besides, they have brought to Abyssinia and the war fronts massive weapons and countless troops to buttress the Addis Ababa regime.

Immediately, the SDR, has made it know to the world that this was not aviable way of solving the explosive question of the Horn. Likewise, it has made it clear that the massive weapons and the infusion of foreign troops more than thousand and thousand are endangering the stability of the whole region that's the Horn. However subsequent demals were made from different circles to the effect that the weapons were small quantities and the foreign troops were not at all present.

Today several states acknowledge the presence of fcreign troops along side of the colonial troops of Abyssinia as well as the availability of massive sophisticate weapons under the disposition of Addis Ababa regime.

Recently the head of U.S. National Security Council has mentioned the fact that they are positive about the presence of Soviet and

Cuban troops who are assisting the Addis Ababa regime in the prosecution of the war against the national liberation forces of western Somalia.

These troops are estimated to be more than sixteen thousand men.

Nevertheless, this admission added that the Somali troops must be withdrawn from Ethiopia, because their presence endanger norms of international law pertaining to boundaries!!! Further, the U.S. Government attitude did not stop there, but it started to court once more the Addis Ababa regime, by the resumption of her military supplies to the said regime. Thus, it appears that profound analyses of the roots of the conflict of the Horn is not only desirable but completely avoided.

The people of Western Somalia have liberated themselves from the Abyssinian colonialism by not taking into consideration the sensibility and strategy of any super power.

The reason being that they are fighting for their survival and future for which they have sacrificed both their lives and resources.

Subsequently, the aim of restoring the provisional boundaries of Abyssinia and her return to the territory which the Western Somali Liberation forces have already liberated means their massacre and the sacrifices of all their aspirations, with the condemnation of the remaining to permanent Abyssinian enslavement.

In this opinion a just one to be proposed by states? Is it an opinion to be taken to international organisations? Or is it something that can be digested by the people of Western Somalia? Or that can be accepted by the SDR?

Or an assumption is made to the effect that if the allied forces (and the other spectators) succeed in the obliteration of the national liberation forces and the SDR is subjected to an aggression, the ongoing war in the Horn will end there, so the remaining will be subjected to stiff bargaining.

Accordingly, to those who are thinking along this line, we say to them that if they want to avert a long, bitter and dreadful war; they will have to change some of their calculations. The major element which they today underestimate must be given the priority it deserves. That is the people who live their (Western Somalia), their desires and the liberation fronts which represent them.

Political, Social and Economic Affairs



FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE OSCM



Since the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party a year and a half ago, a number of social organisations representing the workers, Women and the youth were established in the country, following this an organisation comprising the various co-operatives in the country has been set up early this year.

On 6th January, 1978, the first Congress of the Organisation of the Somali Co-operative movement has taken place at the Police Academy in Mogadishu. 505 representatives, of the various co-operative Unions through out the region of the SDR, have participated in the congress. Also, representatives from other social organisations were invited as observers.

In the First session, the Chairman and the Secretariat of the congress was elected. Then the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare delivered the opening speech.

In his speech, Jaalle Siad emphasised matters concerning the defence of the Somali Nation and its socio-economic progress. The

speech was in general based on two main factors:

1. The Historical Changes and the socio-economic transformations that the Somali Society went through and from which its goals were set.
2. The Rightful stand of the SDR in regards to the persistent issue of the Horn of Africa.

Also, in this first session, a report by the Bureau of co-operatives of the SRSP was presented. The

report contained a general outline of the development of the Somali Co-operatives Movement from its early stages to the present time.

At the opening of the second session, the proposed programme and internal regulations for the OSCM was presented. Then separate committees from the various co-operatives were set up to study the proposed programme and regulations. On the third session, the committees presented a final draft to the congress. Then the Congress approved both the programme and the regulations after minor amendments on certain sections.

During the course of the second and the third sessions, representatives of the regional co-operative unions have presented reports covering their successes and problems and as well proposals on the development of their Unions. All the representatives expressed their unreserved support to the policy of the SRSP, the Just de-colonisation struggle of the Western Somali people and that of the liberation movements of the world.





Besides, representatives of the social organisations for workers, women and youth were given chances to address the congress. In their speeches, they have proclaimed their full support to the newly founded OSCM. They welcomed it as a required institution which would contribute to the struggle for national defense as well as the realization of the revolutionary aspirations.

Also the various regional and district branches and departments of the social organisations and Governmental bodies have incessantly been sending congratulatory messages in support for the new movement of the OSCM from all parts of Somalia.

Moreover the Flowers of the Somali Revolution had at intervals depicted its support in literary works. Guest members of the FSR had been displaying patriotic songs, poems and plays to keep the interests of the Congress at momentum from the beginning to the end. Such entertaining programmes were organized in the form of competition among the mobilization bands of the Somali trade Unions, the National Flower of the

Somali Revolution and the district Flowers of the Somali Revolution of Waaberi, Dayniile, Yaaqshiid and Afgooye Districts.

The presence of guest-members from Codey, one of the liberated regions of Western Somalia, had also due significance. These guest-members have presented the story of their struggle which moved the nationalistic feelings of the participants. They have related the long struggle of the Western Somali people against the Abyssinian colonialism and how the Somali heroes broke the Yoke of colonialism. These guest-members also mentioned the present dignified life of the Western Somali people after liberating their territories and the affection they hold for their brothers in the SDR.

During their presentation of the de-colonization struggle, they were at intervals posed by nationalistic chorus songs depicting the material and moral support of the SDR to the just struggle of the Western Somali people.

At the closing session of the Congress, the national committee, the executive committee and the inspection and auditing committee

of the Somali Co-operative Movement were elected.

For the National Committee 104 members were elected to represent all co-operative movements in Somalia. The members elected for the executive committee were the following nine:

1. Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali — Chairman.
2. Jaalle Yassin Gelle Warsame — 1st Vice-Chairman.
3. Jaalle Mohamed Muse Mohamed — 2nd Vice-Chairman.
4. Jaalle Abdi Dahir Hassan — Secretary of the department for foreign relation.
5. Jaalle Sheikh Ali Ibrahim — Secretary of the department of Justice and documentation.
6. Jaalle Abrone Haji Yusuf — Secretary of the department of Education and vocational training.
7. Jaalle Haji Abdow — Secretary of the department of Mobilization and Social Affairs.
8. Jaalle Ibrahim Mohamed Haduma — Secretary of the department of planning and production.
9. Jaalle Mohamed Umar Isman — Secretary of the department of Administration and Finance.

The committee of inspection and Auditing consist of:-

1. Jaalle Abdillahi Hirsi Samatar — Chairman.
2. Jaalle Ali Jama Olad.
3. Jaalle Mohamed Matan Saray
4. Jaalle Abdi Said Gurhan
5. Jaalle Abdillahi Ismail

The Congress was closed by the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. The closing speech of the President of the SDR dealt with matters of great significance and provided the Somali Co-operatives with valuable guidance and directives.

THE ESSENCE OF THE STATUTE AND PROGRAMME OF THE SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By M.D. Afrah

These are the starting words of the statute of the Somali cooperati-

ve movement. The text of this statute defines the objectives of the

organisation, its structure and function.

As this statute stated the organization «unites all exploited middle social groups and strata consolidating their capabilities, standard of living, and technical know how to overcome all forms of exploitation.

The statute makes it clear that scientific socialism will constitute the basis for the organization and that its structure will be based on democratic centralism which means:

1. The election of all committees from the bottom to top.
2. The submission of the lower bodies to the higher bodies.
3. Strict discipline which means the submission of the minority to the majority.
4. All works and functions should be based on efficiency, cooperation and collective leadership.
5. The structure of the organization is built upon national, regional, district and village levels with due consideration to the similarities of their functions. Following the above structure the organization comprises the existing cooperatives and future ones.

The existing cooperatives are:

The cooperative organization for farmers, fishers, livestock and forests, industries and artists, construction and transportation, food stuffs and services.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ORGANISATION:

The programme defines the policies and responsibilities of the organization. Before discussing duties the programme discusses the objective laws governing the development of human society, then and only then does it focus light on the history of the society and the struggles of the working people against oppression and exploitation.

The programme also demonstrates the system of production before and the forms of cooperation that existed among the poor exploited classes.

The programme also points out that the revolution stepped up to promote the interests of the toiling masses and the foundation of cooperative organization which played a major part of the struggle. The SRC, the political office and the SRSP all concentrated all their efforts to implement these objectives. This cooperative movement organization now founded, at the most appropriate moment is the fruits of these efforts.

The organization discussed and accepted the following responsibilities and duties put forward in the programme.

A. POLITICAL

1. Adherence to the principles of scientific socialism and teaching it to different groups of the organization.
2. Intensification of the struggle of Somali people for freedom and unity, and to inspire the spirit of nationalism and freedom in the minds of all members.
3. Rejection of all forms of exploitation and capitalism.
4. Strengthening the solidarity among all progressive forces in the country and outside the country.
5. Solidarity with all people struggling for freedom, peace, democracy and for advanced society devoid of all forms of exploitation.

ECONOMIC:

1. Increase of production and economic development oriented on socialist economic structure.
2. Intensification of the struggle SRSP programme and the execution of the national plan, for the realization of self sufficiency in economy.
3. Providing the people with the basic needs and necessities of life.
4. To practise the system of collective division of profit, which is based on the principle of:

«From each according to his ability, to each according to his work». This is the fundamental principle in sharing the fruits of labour in socialist framework.

5. To inculcate the spirit of respect for work and socialist competition in all members of the organization.

SOCIAL:

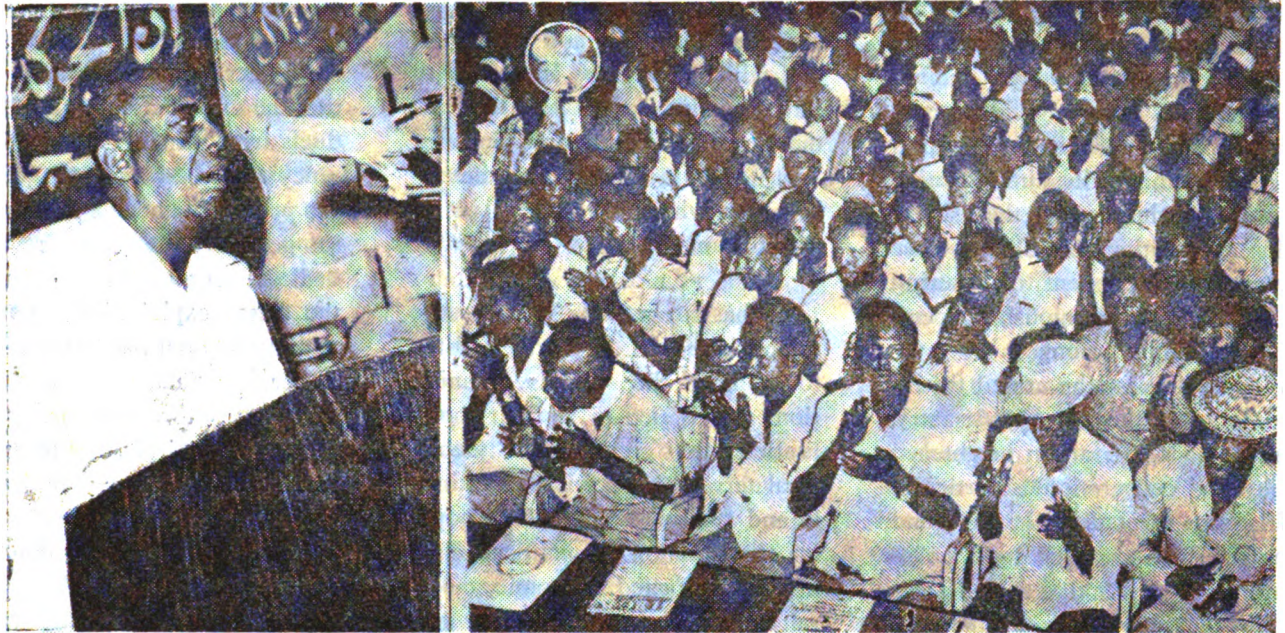
1. Raising the level of political awareness of the members and the preparation of an active cadre equipped with high consciousness and leadership qualities.
2. Promotion and development of the national culture and the eradication of reactionary tradition and cultures inherited from old society.
3. The encouragement and orientation of the members in the importance of social insurance
4. Child and mother health care centers for all cooperatives.
5. Fighting all manifestations of the old cultures that hinder progress, cooperation, and solidarity among them tribalism, regionalism, afmisharism, idleness, bribery, misappropriation of cooperative funds, greediness etc.
6. To put the principles of solidarity and cooperation in full practice as the solid foundation of the new man and as an expression of the real essence of socialist democracy for the realisation of justice, equality and national unity.

This general outline on the statute and programme of the Somali cooperative movement organization reflects the nature of that organization, and its objectives; it is clear that this is progressive organization working on the principles of scientific socialism, struggling to protect the interests of the Somali working people to achieve advanced society, inspired by the programme of the SRSP and the teachings of the general Secretary of the party Jaalle Maxamed Siyaad Barre.

PARTY LIFE



The General Secretary of the SRSP Opening Speech in the Founding Congress of the Somali Cooperative Union



It is a special privilege for me to be taking part in this historical conference, where we are laying the foundations for the union of the Somali Cooperative Movement. In fact it is an occasion which has great and vital meaning for the whole Somali Nation, and specifically for those who continuously and indefatigably are struggling for the full realisation of true progress, independence and social justice, and who furthermore, are in the front ranks in the endeavour to build a socialist society, free of backwardness and the exploitation of man by man. The establishment of this Union which presently we are embarking upon marks one of the long range goals envisioned by the 21st October Revolution, which day after day are multiplying. It is also a

symbol of our revolutionary perseverance and resoluteness as regards its long term goals and objectives.

Comrades with every step that the revolution takes in the carry-out the nation's cherished goals it becomes increasingly relevant that I put it across to the nation, and to explain the theoretical premises on which it is based and over and above this the place it occupies in the overall social development strategy of the nation, hinging upon a well informed, patriotic and conscious understanding of the economic, cultural and political transformations obtaining in the given historical juncture we are traversing. Comrades speaking in general terms it can be stated that one of the first measures to be taken toward a patriotic, progressive and prosperous path ensuring unity is the strengthening and further consolidation of the newly found political

power enjoyed by social political organisations. This is so in as much as any political body which is headed by a political party and mass organisations, based as they are on the interests of the toiling masses and groupings has to be in a position to fully replace the former parties and social organisations, which by their nature championed the then prevalent sectional and group interests.

Immediately on the birth of the 21st October revolution it became unavoidable to abolish the so-called parties and social organisations then existing, since these parties and organisations rendered themselves unsuitable in carrying out the responsibilities bestowed on them. Putting the political parties in abeyance did not mean that the new political authority, led as it was by the army, had in mind the monopolisation of political power thereby making the role of the mas

ses undesirable and redundant. Far from it, really it did mean that the new political authority was intimately and inseparably linked with the Somali toiling masses. For this very reason the new political power, right in its birth committed itself to the Somali toiling masses, and this is abundantly corroborated by the historical experiences of our revolution.

Emanating from this was the inescapable fact that the Somali masses, for whose interest the revolution was born, should be enabled to fully participate and partake in running all administrative powers touching upon their lives. This proposition was all the more pressing to the extent of ensuring the mutual, harmonious cooperation and unity amongst the revolutionary forces: the armed forces, workers, youth women, peasantry, and nomads. To attain heightened unity and cooperation a particular office was created by the SRC and charged with the vital tasks of orienting, raising and organising the political consciousness of the Somali masses. The political mobilisation of the masses had far-reaching effects and was grouped on long term prespective goals.

Comrades, the revolutionary leadership always had in mind fundamental transformation to be wrought in the Somali society, and did not so much limit itself to mere keeping of their political offices. These fundamental transformation were supposed to encompass a society bearing the unwholesome scars of tribalism, corruption, nepotism, disorder and narrow self seeking goals, exploitation, and the breakdown of law and order, etc. The revolutionary goals were to save the society from the darkness, ignorance, abject poverty and debilitating diseases, and to in their place build a healthy socialist Society the implementation of these goals, and the levels attained in their fulfilment can be summed up by the preliminary stages of the Political office in orienting and mo-

bilising the masses, with the objective of finally aiming at satisfactory levels whereby the Somali people discharge their historical and sacred duty i.e. the complete socio-economic transformation of the country. However it is pertinent to ask ourselves the question: In what ways could we assess the attainment of the goals undertaken? to answer this I can say that the establishment of the Party of the new type for which we have struggled too long and arduously, and which at last we succeeded to have founded in July 1st, 1976, as the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party constitutes a valuable advance under which all other points are subsumed.

As has to be fully known the establishment of the Party, and the founding of the social organisations closely tied to it, their mobilisation and giving them ideological terra firma was not the ultimate and final end to facilitate popular participation in political life. in its multifaceted economic, cultural and social dimensions. The point is as has to be clearly borne in mind, if the party of the new type does not create strong and unbreakable relations with the masses, most particularly with its toiling sections, it loses its authority and credibility to carry out the revolutionary vanguard goals inspiring it. This truth is a historically provable one.

In full cognisance of this we created the general Democratic Somali Women's Union on 8th March 1977; the Somali workers Union on 1st May, and SRYU on 15th May and finally today we are deliberating the process of creating the general Somali cooperatives Union. Well then, the establishment of this Union completes the extremely weighty tasks, which is the strengthening, growth and systematising the popular basis of the revolutionary rule, which is a historical duty which objective processes make imperative.

Be that as it may, but more important and noteworthy is that the General Somali Cooperatives Union's (GSCU) role will with the passing of days gain momentum so far it will affect the lives and destinies of greater and larger community of people, i.e. since it will control the bread basket of the urbanised populace. For instance small house-hold peasant owners, along with the Somali agricultural cooperatives constitute the productive forces serving the local food-stuff needs, and over and above this the exported agricultural products from which accrue hard currency reserves which we need. For the peasantry and the toiling masses generally the Somali revolution dedicates itself to save them from the class exploitation, oppression and exceptional hardships to which hitherto they have been its sole victims, and the economico-political path in its entirety devotes itself to these sacred goals. Our commitment to these goals were and are not imitational, but doubtlessly emerged from politically a conscious realisation of their valuable significance for the Somali nation. As a totality they constitute the only authentic path valid for the solution of the multiple and variegated problems inherited from the colonialist and neo-colonialist determined backwardness. Our country, as well as other developing countries urgently need an overhauling of the old and traditional socio-economic structures. The cornerstone in the relevant changes with regard to the mode of economic production turns upon essential transmutations in the public state owned and cooperative sectors. As must be noted in the transitional period of socialist construction there does exist several economic formations and types, each of which serves a given purpose. The public sector as the leading sector guides the direction of the national economy, and the public sector being invariably socialist in nature, ultimately becomes the most dominating, subsuming under it all the other sectors existing.

The cooperative sector of the economy, as the 2nd most strategically placed sector plays a highly distinguishable role with regard to the fundamental transformations which a social revolution implies. Notwithstanding, there are so-called cooperatives which are incontrovertibly capitalist in essence and whose true capitalistic nature is day after day disclosed by objective circumstances, despite their superficial socialist trappings. Cooperatives of these type are capitalist enterprises, and needless to say, perpetuate an exploitative, harsh and oppressive economic setup for both the peasant and nomadic populations (Rural population). The cooperatives movement of our country are progressive and socialist based ones and must thereby serve the objective needs of the toiling masses.

Henceforth the objective basis of our cooperatives must be the serious endeavour at continuous economic growth, the goal which alone ensures social justice, equality and a truly better life. The creation of agricultural handicraftsmen, skilled and technical, fishery, small traders' and nomadic cooperatives facilitates the pooling together of mental, manual and financial resources under a single command thus attaining a greater productive capacity, which in turn acts as a valuable means of reaching our goal of self-sufficiency with the help of which true sovereignty of our country can be ensured.

Comrades the famous legal promulgation law number 40 which was issued by our revolutionary state in October 1973 related as it was to the creation organisation and systematising of the country's cooperatives translated into real life. The points above proudly state that a great deal has been done in the practical implementation of that law.

Though the revolutionary period particularly with regard to the number of years the cooperatives

existed and the problems confronted and their handling is very short, nonetheless, it could be noted that we have reached an adequate level in respect of the establishment, organisation and systematic forms adopted for the cooperatives. Be that as it may we should never be smug and complacent, and in spite of the relatively high levels attained we should be ready to take further advances and long strides which are in consonance with the theoretical and practical gains to be derived from socialist cooperatives. Our revolutionary regime has time and again warned against the immature and spontaneous framework of thinking which are not based on a real study of the objective conditions of our country, and consequently we have proceeded step by step in the construction of our cooperatives.

Comrades to touch on the topical world political issues of the day we can observe that in the last years so many things have changed so much so a new and totally new situation has arisen in the world political correlation of forces. The historical process is more and more getting highly favourable for the peoples striving for independence, democracy, peace and social progress. This valuable situation has come, thanks to the historical process which is at work and which have been enriched by the experienced actions of the world revolutionary movements and forces. This is proved beyond shadow of doubt by the heightened political conditions, manifested as they are by the armed struggles gaining ground and gathering momentum in the Horn of Africa related as it is to the dismantling and dismemberment of the Ethiopian Empire which the revolutionary forces- the liberation Fronts of Somali West Abbo, Eritrea day after day are striking deathly blows thereby anguishing their victories for the realisation of dreams for which nearly a century they have been fighting for. Noteworthy also to mention is the fact that the revolutionary mas-

ses of Ethiopia for far too long have been striving to end the feudal injustices and exploitations, and to in its place create a better life worthy of man.

However till this very day they are being subjected to heinous and horrendous oppressions, which is exemplified by daily destruction of hundreds of workers, students, youth, peasants, women and generally the toiling masses who are opposed to the unjust, and stifling treatments to which they are subjected. We see as our sacred duty, and the duty of all the rest who love the strengthening of peace and the preservation of basic human rights, that full aid be proffered to the progressive forces of Ethiopia who are striving hard for democracy and progress.

The political situation arising in Horn of Africa has brought about a change in the political relations of the world, since formerly we knew colonialism to be the only system opposing peoples' right to self-determination. This naturally emanated from colonialism's essential economic relations, and the forms of their manifestation. Due to this, colonialism tried to eternalise itself, and to perpetuate exploitation and strengthen the domination over other nations. This is not surprising for us, since as a nation we have been through it, and in so far the rest of the world has tasted its bitter cup of experience. However what is astonishing and most baffling is how the situation in the Horn transmuted the political stand, also the ideological principles, founded on true class orientation of countries which it was habitual to support and aid peoples struggling for their sovereign right to self-determination.

I have several times addressed myself to the situation obtaining in the Horn of Africa, and it is a situation which is being unnecessarily complicated by the Addis-Ababa regime, which at a time when the colonial sun is setting commits itself stubbornly and obdurately to

eternalise the Abyssinian oppression and colonialism over the subjected nations, who are seeking for their liberation. Furthermore the misguided policies of certain socialist countries with regard to Abyssinian colonialism on whose side they are on, practically for their naked selfinterests.

And solely for their wide strategic interest in Horn they have sacrificed and casted overboard the sacred tenets of the socialist ideology.

Comrades what is most surprising is that these unpalatable things are occurring in the closing quarter of the 20th Century, a Century characterised and typified by the more weighty and determining role of the national liberation movement in the world correlation of forces and encompassing the four corners of the globe. These are times when the socialist system which alone leads to true liberation and freedom, and peoples right to self-determination is becoming the singularly dominating system. Wasn't it Esteemed Comrade Lenin who correctly stated the principle of the nations' right to self-determination?

The present day discarding of this principle by the leadership of the Soviet Union militates against great Lenin's behests. Therefore the undisguised interference of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other allied States into the Horn of Africa affairs, which are specific to it is a blatant violation of the laws and rules laid down by the UNO and OAU. Besides it is tantamount to the flouting the dignity, unity and sovereignty of the African continent, and generally the freedom and peace loving international forces the world over. Over and above this it is a travesty that while African heads of State are the ones deserving of taking the necessary steps, for foreign powers to interfere into the Horn's affairs. This foreign interference will never bring about an effective peace settlement but

will on the contrary contribute to political complications and the internationalisation of the war going on, in the Horn.

Now then we may ask ourselves the question of what is the content of the new policy of the Soviet leadership, Cuba and other allied states which crystallises in arming the Addis-Ababa regime to the teeth, and furthermore deploying foreign troops to bolster them up? Comrades, first it is to contain and then destroy the just struggle being waged by the liberation movements of the Somali West, Abbo, Eriteria, Tigre and Afar and the obviation of the final just victory which inevitably has to be theirs. It is also an effort at obviating and inviting a sacred promise of our 21st October revolution, It is the conscious and premediated dissolution of all the revolutionary victories scored in the last years, be they economic, political, and social and in general the new socio-economic relations which the October revolution has set up. The last but not the least objective underlying this interference is the planned attack on the Somali Democratic Republic itself, and the patent endangering of its sovereign existence and unity, all for the sake of propping up the colonial aims of Addis-Ababa regime and the strategic goals of the Soviet Union pertinent to African Horn region.

Consequent upon the new situation arising, and the likelihood of internationalising the war in the Horn precipitated as it is by some socialist countries the Central Committee of the SRSP took its historic decision of 13.11.1977, which by and large fundamentally changed the political relations between it, the USSR, and Cuba both of which unambiguously sided with the Abyssinian colonialism. At the same time this decision was to lay firm foundation for our further sovereign existence, and above all, the strengthening of the just struggles which the national liberation mo-

vements are waging in the serious attempt to wrest their right to self-determination from Ethiopian and to assure the victories which already have been won

Comrades, to momentarily let me pause here to comment on the reactionary interpretation of our historic decision, which was solely adopted for our defence. The reactionary forces give an interpretation to the effect that this decision implies the retreat from the socialist path which we have taken. This reactionary idea does not startle us since we got so accustomed at it being bandied about by our reactionary elements, who in the last 8 years spared no efforts to sabotage and misinterpret our revolutionary goals and strategies. But these last days the reactionaries are drumming up support within the masses for certain point of views which are antithetical and opposed to the programme of the SRSP. This amounts to the misconception that so far the Russians have been expelled, and the political relations with some socialist countries have woefully deteriorated it is only likely that there will be a retreat from the socialist ideology.

Really the reactionaries wrongly assess and size up situations insofar they could not distinguish between ideological principles and State policies. However to ask ourselves: Did we when we adopt the socialist ideology to carry favour with others? Or does it mean that a socialist revolution for its existence and validity has to gain an official admission from some particular country? The immediate answer to this is doubtlessly negative. Be that as it is, the point needs emphasising that a revolution is never exported but is born of the internal social contradictions which are generated in a given society. Correspondingly the Somali Revolution owes its birth to the highly difficult conditions and objective processes operative in our country and since then it has proved itself in the se-

rious tackling of socio-economic and political problems.

Furthermore the heightened political awareness and maturity is also a true testimony to its everlasting validity. In this context the establishment of GSCU, which in effect strengthens the party and society at large is a corroboration of sophisticated political consciousness. The revolution will never go back on its basic principles and the Commitments it has made to Somali nation. At this juncture when the revolution is further gathering momentum it once again reaffirms the sacred cause and goals to which it is irreversibly bound.

Comrades, deserving boundless and unforgettable thanks are the Arab and African countries who genuinely stoop with and aided the just struggle of the liberation movements of the Somali nation. The unstable situation obtaining in the African Horn is not likely to be confined to the region, and accordingly incumbent upon the various states of the world is the serious attempts on their part to give thought to ways and means of resolving it, since on this depends peace in our world, and particularly the security of the Horn, and the Red Sea which has exceptional importance for world Trade and communication lines.

As already spelled out we are informing the African countries that the situation in the Horn is directly concerning them since it touches upon the peacefulness, independence and unity of African countries, their cooperation and development. This therefore naturally entails the duty that is solution lies with them. Consequently we call upon our African brothers not to spare efforts in partaking as to how to find ways and means of solving the problem. We in the Somali Democratic Republic hereby express our readiness for inter-African mediations, of course conditional upon the Addis-

Ababa regime finding the courage to take part in a such mediation. Obviously the firm basis for resolving this conflict is dependent on the acceptance of the principles of independence and national right to self-determination as enshrined in the OAU rules and laws.

Historical experience incontestably admits that people who are striving for their freedom cannot be subjugated by the flexing of muscles and recourse to the barrel of the gun. The Abyssinian colonialists are day dreaming if for one minute they believe that by force of arms and pillage they can succeed in resolving the conflict between them and the liberation movement. The true resolution of the conflict in the Horn, first and foremost hinges on the exit of alien force who are internationalising the conflict, and immediately afterward for the parties to the conflict, e.g. the Western Somali Liberation front, Abbo, Eriteria and the Addis regime to come and sit down together to comprehensively and concretely discuss the relevant points comprising the conflict. The Somali government is fully prepared to shoulder its share of neighbourly and African responsibilities.

Obvious as the permanent aggressive designs of the Addis-ababa regime are against the Somali Democratic Republic, and taking into account that this regimes aggression is caused by its utter inability to cope with the liberation movements struggle for which it cannot find satisfactory peaceful solution, yet the SDR is at any time ready to directly negotiate with the Addis regime and to convince it of the baseless and pointless accusations & imputations which it levels against us.

In as much as we have comprehensively dealt the long history of the Somali cooperatives movement, the revolution's objectives in building them up and the importance the party and State attach to them, and

taking into account the new situation confronting it let me come down to pinpoint the great value entailed in this conference of ours, and the great expectations which are .. by the Somali masses vis-a-vis the cooperatives role in this pressing times — I have already referred to the productive, political and social progressive dimensions.

Comrades the conference coincides with a time when the revolution has crossed over to the carrying out of one of the most fundamental articles in the first charter of the revolution. Therefore lying in front of you is a weighty matter which necessitates the arriving fruitful decisions in order to be able to masterfully and adequately play your great role, taking into consideration your earlier experiences. To elaborate on this point it is your task to effectively express the toiling masses continuing importance to the growth of your economic capacity and the improvement in our life.

In its other dimension the objectively determined task which the conference has to elucidate is firstly the realisation of the place which Somali cooperatives in the plane of the ideological and the theoretical struggle firmly based as it must be on the defence if the toiling masses interests, which inevitably means the combatting of reactionary ideas. The possibility successively calling this conference in fact lies in our internalisation and adoption of socialist scientific ideas which make realisable maximum democracy and most progressive development. As cooperative and integral members of the toiling masses it is a duty to sacrificingly and resolutely protect the system of ideas which defend and make possible working class interests.

Comrades finally I exhort the founding conference of the General Somali Cooperative Union to pursue its work in orderly, disciplined, and with revolutionary spiri-

ts, and furthermore to deliberate on the widest popular democracy, as fits the principle of democratic centralism which is intrinsically an integral component part of any progressive revolution.

If we go back to our revolutionary experiences we will all agree that our principle has been applied to practically all the forms of social and party life, in the administration of economic projects, and the cultural and political conditions of our country. The duty which continues to be of paramount importance, at the present stage we are in, is how to utilise and apply the principle of democratic centralism. And it is my belief that this goes into the essence of the duties falling upon this founding conference of the General Somali Cooperatives Union. For this reason the conference should be making use of this principle in all its aspects, in the debating proposals, arriving at conclusions, at giving reports and generally in the officially written material, as well as in the drawing up of the elections for the multifarious committees.

In conclusion I can only express greatest hope of success for the conference's extensive deliberations pertaining to the task of bracing itself for its role in the materialisation of social progress and the defence of the sovereign unity of the Somali nation. I have to also thank responsible heads and committees who did tremendous preparatory work for making this conference possible.

LET SOMALIA UNITE

LONG LIVE THE SRSP

VICTORY TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOMALI WEST ABBO AND ERITRIA.

TRIUMPHANT SUCCESS TO THE SOMALI COOPERATIVES.

The General Secretary's Closing Speech of the OSCM

Comrades,

I am highly privileged and gratified to be present here where you are concluding the 1st founding Congress of Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement (OSCM). In this Congress you have arrived at historical decisions which indisputably will be of great benefit to the Somali toiling masses, as a whole, and particularly for the various Somali Cooperatives which showed their readiness to realise the principles of the 21st October Revolution and the main contents of the SRSP programme.

What is to be specially noted, and this intimately struck me, was the efficient manner, in which the different preparatory tasks were carried out, the happy and interesting atmosphere prevailing while Congress was in session, and the enthusiasm and revolutionary will which congress clearly evinced all throughout.

Accordingly the few days we were involved in the Establishment of the OSCM acted as days generating hope, implanting confidence in ourselves, and illuminating for us the true path to progress, struggle and advance of the Somali toiling masses.

The value of this Congress is made all the more apparent by the fact that it coincides with a time when a bitter struggle is being waged by the Somali Nation in its persistent efforts to realise its sovereignty, unity and advance, which now has entered a new qualitative period, and in process being crowned with great success, in the endeavour to be fully free in the political, economic and social sphere.

If I touch upon the results of this Congress, it can with confidence

be stated that it brings in its wake boundless benefits as far as the improvement in the social conditions of the Somali society are concerned, in as much as this Congress has set down the work programme containing the spirit of the SRSP programme, which defines and correctly reflects the long cherished goals for which the Somali toiling masses struggled so tirelessly to see it adopted in the genuine realisation to radically transform, for the better, the conditions and standards of life of the Somali society.

What furthermore deserves better evaluation was the realisation on the part of the Congress that the programme and the law will be lifeless if the Central leadership structure fulfilling it is ignored. And that is why the variegated and multifarious committees, such as the national committee, the executive committee, and the inspection and auditing committee, have been elected.

I am only too confident that the Comrades that you have elected for the leading posts in those committees are the ones whom you bestowed your trust as deserving to be in the front ranks in the struggle to defend the Revolution, as well as in the advancement of of the cooperatives goals.

The elected committees are charged with tremendous tasks of implementing and realising the aspirations of the toiling masses, as well as aiding, training, mobilising and consolidating their unity with every step they take upon the delineated targets of the SRSP and the theory of scientific Socialism creatively applied to our specific conditions.

Comrades, as I have already re-

ferred to, the Somali cooperatives have attained a new level, which is characterised by its own conditions and peculiarities. And as such it is inordinately imperative that the Organisation fully, consciously, actively and in a revolutionary manner performs its historical tasks, which is exemplified by the recognition that the nation's progress hinges upon the raising of the productive capacity, by attaching utmost importance and priority to the satisfaction of social needs, since the raising of productivity is conducive to social transformation which in turn favourable acts upon human life.

That being the case it becomes incumbent upon us to lay great emphasis upon the tremendous raising of productivity as well as weathering through the numerous difficulties and obstacles, which the objective conditions lay before us, and moreover the ability to go through sacrifices in order to accomplish better and more qualitatively productive capacity and know-how.

In order to both improve the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of production it is required to be cognisant with the objective conditions and laws which govern the development of social production. Production is made possible by social cooperation, and participating in it, is the whole working class hence this necessitates a just system to be laid down.

The imperativeness of raising production is made all the more patent by the fact that it is you, your conscious belief as cooperative members, which will determine the methods and organizational work relating to the production process. The point above mentioned is tersely and categorically stated in the SRSP programme and on your part as cooperatives the task is its deeper appreciation and satisfactory implementation.

However the realisation of all cherished goals set by you is closely connected with a deeper un-

derstanding of the tasks to fulfill, and the setting down of a plan to efficiently undertake it. The plan is indubitably the key to the solution of problems; it is the harmoniser of the different aspects of the tasks, and furthermore is the criterion by means of which we can size up the fulfilment undertaken by the individual, group, and society as a whole.

For this very reason the cooperatives ought to invest great value in plans, and the planning of their tasks. Each and every cooperative has to make its own specific plan, in as much as principles of scientific socialism are founded upon an appreciation of the role of plans and their utilisation in the execution of all tasks. Plans under the principles of scientific socialism are an effective instrument to counteract the chaotic and targetless conditions, which are a permanent feature of the capitalist system.

What also chiefly contributes to higher productivity is the principle of socialist emulation. The role and importance of socialist emulation as I have repeatedly observed lies in safeguarding the interests of the toiling masses, and concurrently to consolidate the cornerstone of a socialist economy. The effectiveness and unsurpassable value engendered by socialist emulation has been proved by long processes of real life practices, and through this it has been enriched and made even more scientific.

If we really do all in our power to fully explore and tap the potentialities of the cooperative, and for this the Party is more than willing to embark upon, we will be duty bound to adequately utilise the will, enthusiasm and spontaneity of the masses. And the only way to exploit these is a serious endeavour to popularise and disseminate the ideas and practices of socialist emulation, throughout the regions, and this will in its turn strengthen the princi-

ples of self-reliance which the Revolution practically pursued for a long time.

The great value ingrained in socialist emulation is that it continues the self-help policies, and at the same time elevates to a higher stage the principle aforementioned. From today on the programme of self-help schemes have to form an integral aspect of planning; gain prior evaluation and be fitted into the necessary places, in particular the productive sector of the economy.

The Self-help schemes hitherto were seen in terms of the erection of buildings, beginning from now we have to cross over to the directly productive sector, i.e. the economy, the farms, fisheries, etc.

Comrades, socialist emulation has multifarious forms of applicability. The emulation can be either between, let us say, two factories manufacturing things along the same factory, two agricultural cooperatives; or it need be between two completely different institutions i.e. the agricultural and fishery cooperatives, even between two individuals working in the same institution.

All the points dealt with above are to the advantage of the spiritual awakening of the toiling masses who are represented by the cooperatives organisations, in their productive and design capacities. And in order to develop socialist emulation practices the organisations and the individuals who show an exemplary hardwork with regard to the production ought to correspondingly merit material and moral incentive, as a form of an encouragement.

Comrades, the other important factor which is directly relevant to your Union's capacity to perform its obligations is the strict adherence to discipline and a moral élan without which accountability to the people is lost, and as a result the maturity of the cooperative

movement is pushed further. The realisation of the multiple harms attendant upon laxity of discipline entails the onerous tasks, that every individual keeps to the discipline and a laudable moral standard, which the cooperative movement itself has to lay down, taking into account the translation in real life in the carrying out orders and the keeping to moral norms, the feeling of mutual respect and trust amongst members. The validity of the points above-mentioned are founded on the principle of criticism and self-criticism, which in turn are closely tied to better planning, higher productivity and successful constructive implementation of the cooperative movement.

Discipline and exemplary moral elan are the most difficult aspects to undertake in any task due mainly to the fact that they closely are related to the prerequisites of human existence. Every member of the toiling masses has to consciously internalise the categories of discipline and the concomitant moral elan corresponding with it. And to the extent of successful internalisation depends his contribution to the society of which he is a member.

Proceeding from the above assumption, discipline and its various precepts should not be initiated by compulsion or coercion, in fact a commitment and belief in them is the surest affirmation underlying its validity and efficiency. Be that as it may, any individual whose departure from discipline turns out to be harmful to task operation, and social life, deserves necessary steps to be taken against him, and these comprise the utilisation of corrective methods which point to the exemplary disciplinary practices he ought to keep to.

Calling for particular attention is the role control ought to play in as much as control helps us in the ascertainment of the scope and level of job execution, and further-

more meets the role in the correction of errors and mistakes which willingly or unwillingly might have been committed. Thanks to control we gain and accumulate experience, and improve our assessment of our available cadres, with respect to their strong and weak points, their know-how, dedication and enthusiasm.

Along the safe lines, auditing helps in the setting down of a correct accountancy system, the protection of cooperative property, the training and employment of cadres, the avoidance of errors and generally the minimisation of the theft and embezzlement.

If the cooperatives do not continuously impose control over the execution of tasks, ascertain the conditions, and be reasonably conversant with work processes their isolation from individual enterprises, and lack of responsibility on their part is bound to ensue. Enanating from the stupendous importance of control flows the natural corollary that the cooperative movement, from now on, takes upon itself active participation in the control and ensurance of task implementation, administering and developing of production, and ought to show their ability at the harnessing of creative potentialities.

The only way in which this could gain a practical effectiveness is for both the cooperative movement and administration to ensure a balancing and reciprocal relationship, whereby each gives to other maximum opportunity in the lightening of respective tasks. In particular the economic organizations of the state are saddled with the historical task confronting them vis-a-vis the building and consolidation of the Somali cooperatives movement, and in the process give a firm foundation to the all-sided assistance they are prepared to offer. Obviously this will be consonant with a radical revision of law N. 40 in the light of the new times and tasks.

Socialism must probably become a practical reality when the co-operatives fully participate in all the other productive tasks, and at the same time ascertain the results attained, and moreover consciously realise that destiny is tied to an efficient effecuation of their job in production.

The SRSP finds its base and support within the Somali toiling masses, and due to this it derives its ideology and thought from all the strata of the toiling masses. And it is this which clearly expresses the idea of the undeniable leadership of the rest of the society by the working class and cooperative members. This leadership role emanates from their position in the production process, to the extent that they are the main force creating the material basis of life, and the development of technology and social advance in the fulfilment of aspirations and aims.

Comrades, experience has taught us that every duty which we set for ourselves cannot by its volition carry itself out, but inevitably necessitates a corresponding knowledge and realisation toward facilitation of cooperative tasks: Consequently it is more than necessary to give continuous and permanent training to cooperatives members, training to cooperatives fruit and which augments in the raising of both productivity and cultural and political awareness. In as much as the cooperatives are closely tied to production, and are entrusted with means and instruments of production, it stands to reason, that they involve their members in the organisation of work, and this can be improved by higher educational qualifications.

Now, then we are in the closing stages of the 20th Century when science and technology have reached high levels of maturity, and specialisation in multiple fields of knowledge has become a fact of life.

This fact involves the cooperatives to keep in line and abreast of the stupenous scientific and technological changes taking place. This undertaking will be done in conjunction with the SRSP, the state and other social organisations, and its *raison d'être* will be to derive maximum advantage from working class experiences in other parts of the World. At the same time the cooperatives ought to bear in mind the interests to defend, their class origin, their class enemies and the nature of the struggle to be waged, the conditions formerly lived under, the alliances to be created, and the methods of comprehensive analysis. For this, the cooperatives need to make the learning of scientific socialism a permanent feature.

Comrades, since the birth of the revolution inordinately difficult tasks and campaigns were embarked upon in the realisation of a fruitful alliance and cooperation of the Somali toiling masses.

An alliance amongst the working force is the foundation, and the best implement whereby unity of the progressive forces could be assured and moreover instils in the individual the attitude of mutual cooperation in the effeuation of tasks. Accordingly we have to do everything under our disposal to create a meaningful working relationship of the Somali cooperatives movement with other social organizations, such as the Somali Workers Union, Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, the Somali Democratic women's Union, and the armed forces, etc.

Comrades, I am exhorting in the full appreciation of the idea of cooperation, mutual sharing of property, raising of productivity, the protection of cooperative property, and the participation in the development of a national economy through which self-sufficiency and a sovereign, united and democratic Somali society could be created. At the sametime you ought

to be waging a stiff struggle against the opposing enemy, against the old order, such as tribalism, corruption, regionalism, shirking, nepotism, favouritism, self-seeking goals, and property mindedness, etc.

The other inescapable case in point to be borne in mind is the apposite realisation of our class aims and goals, which have gone through a long struggle against all types of colonialism, and under different exploiting classes. Accordingly a persistent duty on our part is the vigilant defence of the revolutionary gains, which accrued to the Somali toiling masses as a result of the advent of the 21st October, as epitomised by the first charter of the Revolution, the programme of the SRSP, and the presently drafted cooperative programme, all of which are grounded upon the unity and progress of the Somali nation.

I am also exhorting you to be ready to take a courgeous part in the just, partriotic struggle which our country today is waging.

In the name of the Central committee of the SRSP, in the name of the Somali masses, and in my name, let me take this opportunity to express boundless gratitude, warm greetings and congratulations to the Somali toiling masses, in the hope of progress and everlasting gains.

LET US UNITE

LONG LIVE THE SRSP

VICTORY FOR THE SOMALI LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

SUCCESS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT.

The Death of a Revolutionary Patriot

Brig. General Ali Mattan Hashi has passed away on January of this year. The SRSP and the Somali masses felt deep sorrow over the miss of one of the founders of the 21st October Revolution. At the time of his death Jaalle Ali Mattan was a significant member of the C. C. of the SRSP, and previously he was a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council that liberated the Somali Nation from the yoke of neo-colonialism.

The patriotic struggle of Jaalle Ali Mattan didn't start with the foundation of the October Revolution. It has its roots deep in the initial years of the country's first liberation movement. Jaalle Ali joined the Somali Youth league party at the age of 17 in 1944. Within a year, he proved his ability and dedi-

cation to the national cause, so in 1945 he was elected as the secretary of the SYL at Sagag, Dhagaxbur District.

Accordingly, Jaalle Ali Mattan has taken a distinguished role in the liberation struggle of the Somali nation. Ali was one of the vanguards of «Ha Noo laato» struggle on 11th Jan., 1948 when the Somali liberation Movement fought against the colonial soldiers in Mogadishu.

Jaalle Ali was unique in his unchallengable dedication and belief in the principle of Justice, human rights, love for the nation and sacrifice to the cause of liberty. Thus he never used to compromise on the fulfilment of such principles even if his life was endangered.

In regard to this, Jaalle Ali was nominated as the Chairman

of the SRC committee for justice in 1973. During this period a campaign for maintaining social justice had been carried out and Jaalle Ali Mattan was its prime mover.

On the other hand Brig. General Ali Mattan's Military career is recorded in a golden page in the history of the Somali military force, especially the air force. He was one of the first Somali Military pilots and since

then he has been endeavouring in the construction of the Somali Airforce for which he accomplished great tasks.

All in all it is inevitable for every nation to hail the deeds of its heroes and transmit their courageous directives from generation to another.

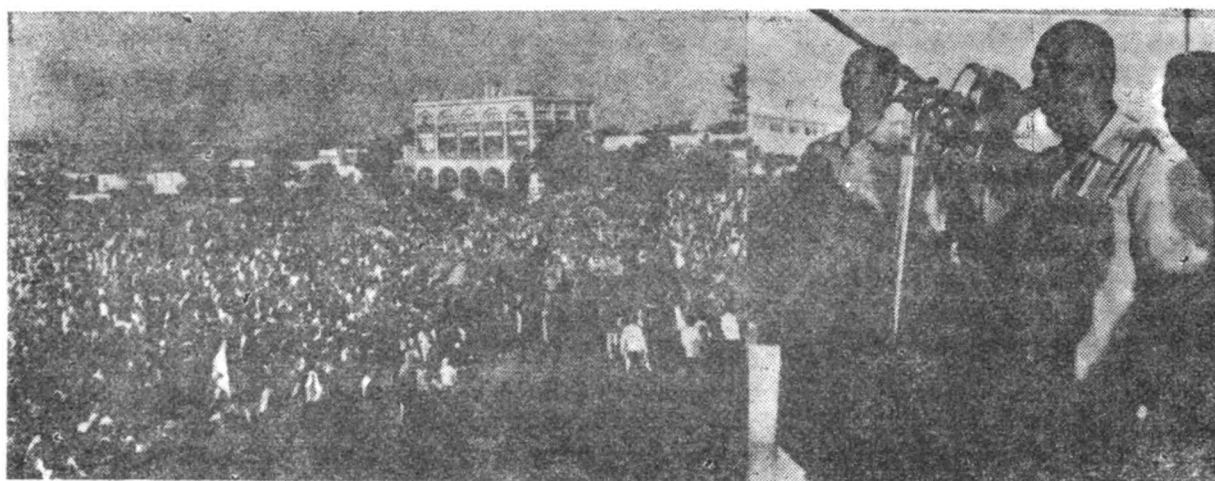
In line with this the Politbureau of the SRSP had, due to the death of Ali Mattan approved the decisions of a three day

mourning of the Somali Nation during which the National Flag had been flown half-mast.

The authorities of the Somali Nation as well as the masses were incessantly sending condolence messages, expressing their grief sorrow for the deceased, during the whole mourning period.

This depicts the ever valid truth of the saying : «A hero never dies».

THE RALLY OF THE SOMALI WORKERS AND PEASANTS SOLIDARITY DAY



Jaalle Siad addressing mass-rally staged in support of the resolutions of the SRSP central committee.

Four Years ago the 10th Jan. was celebrated as the solidarity Day of the Somali workers, and peasants and this occasion coincided this year with the establishment and creation of the organisations of the Somali cooperatives movement which is a new and strong impulse for the struggle of the Somali workers.

For this reason the 10th January of 1978 as the Solidarity Day of the all Somali Workers and peasants, as well as the creation of the organisation of the Somali cooperatives had attracted thousands of people representing the different strata of the Somali Workers and, social associations such as : the workers, the peasants, Armed For-

ces, the cooperatives, the Youth, the Women association etc.

This occasion was held at the Darwish square, which is where the national mass demonstrations takes place and in this gathering there were thousands of workers living in Mogadishu, the National Capital of the country. Each association was coming to the mass rally in a uniformed and in an ordered and disciplined manner. And their forces as well as their posters carrying Revolutionary mottoes show their Revolutionary feeling and National pride by which all Somalis and all good willing citizens has been captured with.

Thousands of toiling masses who filled the large Darwish square came with their highest emotion and feeling, when the leader of the Revolution Jaalle Siad, who always takes part in these mass rallies appeared before them. The Secretary General of SRSP was welcomed by applause and Revolutionary songs and then Jaalle Siad delivered his speech. Although the speech covered large area, still it can be divided into two-major parts:

a) The first part was concerned with the establishment of the cooperatives organisation, and Revolutionary objectives of the establishment of the social organizations as central mass organizations of the party. Jaalle Siad

pointed out the major objective of the Somali revolution as the **unification of the Somali people**, and **coordination of their Capabilities** in order to achieve the cherished goals, which we are after.

And this goal can only be achieved as Jaalle Siad pointed out when the masses become conscious, and from this springs the need for education of the masses and their mobilisation.

b) The second part of the President's speech was concerned with the very important period, which the history of the Somali people is undergoing today. He pointed out that the enemies of the people are wrong in their imagination that we cannot overcome the obstacles facing us today.

Denouncing those false ideas Jaalle Siad said, that the Somali people encountered many difficulties rather than those imagined ones, and that Revolutionary Somalia has overcome all these obstacles through unity, Revolutionary planning and hard will.

«As we overcome those, we are going to surmount this too» declared Jaalle Siad «Because we have the same ability on which we have overcome the past difficulties». Jaalle Siad reminded the masses the following Axiom saying that No United Force can either defeat or stop people fighting for their just cause. Lastly, the President reminded the Somali people the difficult fight and to endure this fight with courage and hard will as they have done always in order to give their enemies another lesson, that no body can defeat a United Somali People. Jaalle Siad in his final remarks has pointed out that productivity increase plays essential role in the struggle because struggle is not only gun-fight, but every body is in the struggle through the position he occupies in his

duty, and he will be accountable for the people.

For this reason, the President stressed that every body should increase his productivity in the National Economy and work more hours than the actual time, and this was accepted with cheers and applause.

Before the speech of the President, there was few words given by the different delegates of the various associations of the Somali toiling masses, who were represented in this histori-

cal mass rally. Among these are social organizations of the workers, youth, women and cooperative; and similar introductory remarks was given by members of the Armed Force. All these remarks were showing the Revolutionary feeling of Somali Worker's as well as the great Solidarity of the workers and peasants of the society. A special congratulations were given to the organization of the Somali cooperatives, whose establishment coincided with the solidarity day of Somali Workers and peasants.

SRSP Centrâl Committee Members Tour Regions.

At the middle of last month, members of the Central Committee of the SRSP made tours to all the regions of the country. Inspection tours are regularly made by the Central Committee to all parts of the country so as to constantly keep in touch with the conditions of the Somali people, the problems encountered and how regional and district authorities carry out their responsibilities.

Apart from these general objectives, the Party activities inspected by the Central Committee delegations during their tours include:-

1. How regional and district Party Committees and social organizations function and implement the principles of democratic Centralism.

2. How far is the decision of educating the Party members both politically and socially is being carried out,

3. Review of the method of selecting Party members.

4. Dicipinary code for Party members.

5. Inspection of how regional and district Party Committees and Party cells implement the decisions of the Central committee.

6. Inspection of Orientation Centre activities and Political seminars implemented in 1977.

7. How law No. 21 of 3.2.77 which stipulates the working together of the Government and Party is being carried out.

8. Economic developments made by the regions in 1977. This includes the funds allocated for the Central Government and local Governments; and the self-help projects.

9. The activities carried out in the region or district and the existing problems in the fields of livestock, agriculture, water, education, health, security and food distribution; preparation of the people for the defence of the country and the support provided to the Somali people struggling to liberate themselves from Abyssinian colonialism.

After finishing their tours, the delegations submitted their reports to the Central Committee.

Party Delegation Visit African Countries

Last year Delegations led by members of the CC of the SRSP toured several African countries. Among the members of the Central Committee who led the delegations were Jaalle Salah Mohamed Ali, Chairman of the Bureau for Foreign Affairs; Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mahmoud, Chairman of the Bureau for Economic Affairs and Jaalle Abdissalam Sheikh Hussein, Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs. The main objectives of the tour was to increase bilateral relations and co-operation between the Somali Democratic Republic and other African countries.

In the different places they toured, the delegations were given a warm welcome and hospitality by their African brothers.

The African people where ever they are believe in and value the valient struggle of the Somali people against colonialism and imperialism. Also they value the progressive steps taken by revolutionary Somalia with which it is overcoming underdevelopment, building a new society and defending its freedom and sovereignty. The people of Africa have long passed through colonial oppression and

now believe the inevitability of its destruction. Today they are aware of the true nature of the situation in the Horn.

They are much worried about the direct involvement of foreign powers in the Horn of Africa and the interference in the African Affairs.

The heads of the delegations delivered written messages to the leaders of the countries they visited and had also with them both mutual discussions on the brotherly relations between Somalia and their countries and the African affairs in general.

11th January Is Documented Twice In The Somali History

The occasion of 11th January was celebrated at all the orientation centres in the districts of the Republic. The party leaders told the masses the historical background and the importance of that day.

The ceremony of that occasion was held at all the orientation centres of the 14 districts of the banadir region. The members of the C.C. of the SRSP participated with the masses at the centres; and they delivered speeches about the struggle of the Somali freedom fighters to full independence.

As its known, 11th January is among the great historical days for the Somali freedom fighters. At the end of 1940,s the United nations sent a committee of 40 countries to Somalia, in order to analyse the situation and to know the stand of the Somali masses after a long conflict between the European

colonialists and the Somali freedom fighters.

Using their puppets, the colonialists organized demonstrations supporting their colonial policy.

The freedom fighters led by The SYL stiffened their opposition against the colonial manipulations and hence portrayed to the delegation that quest of the Somali people to full independence. The gallant freedom fighters confronted the colonialists and their protages killing a great number of the colonial troops.

Although numerous patriots like Hawa Tako died in this fighting yet the freedom fighters led by the SYL were decisively victorious. The U.N. delegation came to realize the situation after witnessing the struggle of the Somali people in order to attain full independence.

11th January was once again

documented in the Somali history in the year 1974, when the family law was introduced.

It didn,t remain to be local law but it was the outcome of the revolution of the old custom on the Somali family. The main objectives of the revolution on this law is to respect the right of the Somali women and to modernize family relationship which leads to build healthy society.

On the occasion of 11th January, the party leaders delivered speeches at the orientation centres which discussed in depth the historical background of that day. The leaders put more emphasis on the struggle of the freedom fighters and reminded the masses that the struggle continues and currently it is in its toughest time. Thus, the leaders urged every Somali to be ready in order to fulfil his responsibility.



WORLD AFFAIRS

ERITREAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE



Eritrean freedom fighters

dence of Eritrea. The problem of Eritrea has been viewed differently by the world forces. Certain peoples in Africa and the Arab world had perceived the Eritrean problem as a regional issue that has to be treated likewise. They hold that the cessation of Eritrea bears a similarity to minority nationalities that are bent upon a separatist aims which these peoples view as detrimental to the economic developments of the 3rd world countries.

The people who hold such views of the Eritrean case are surely missing the core of the problem in this particular issue. They seem to be quite unaware of the origin and development of the problem as well as the various historical stages it has passed through, a fact that has essentially to be taken into account.

Besides, one can not claim a comprehensive knowledge of the Eritrean case without a proper assessment of the development of the Eritrean people and the victories attained for the last 17 years of their armed struggle.

The Eritrean Liberation Movement has recently attained a new stage in its struggle against the Ethiopian occupation. The Liberation of many Eritrean towns and the seige imposed upon the main towns of Asmara, Assab and Musawa, has drawn the attention of politicians particularly those inte-

rested in African politics into the developments in the region.

Ever since the advent of the Eritrean Liberation movement in 1961, the Eritrean Revolution has gone through various stages. The Liberation movements constant catch word, has, however, always remarked the same: The Indepen-

In this period, the Eritrean Revolution has been able through its glaring victories in the battle field to capture the international mass media as one of the most burning issues in the North East tern parts of Africa and the Red Sea region.

The press representatives who had been to the liberated areas in Eritrea unequivocally testify to the growing support of the Eritrean people to its liberation movement struggle against the Ethiopian colonial occupation. The Eritrean people, furthermore, follow with great zeal and admiration the successes achieved by the ELF in both the political and Social fields.

Yet all these achievements notwithstanding, the Eritrean revolution seems to be presently passing through a rather critical stage of its development owing to the divisions between its liberation forces. These differences are of course surmountable. With an objective, genuine, honest and democratic dialogue, there is no reason at all why such differences cannot be settled among the various factions.

Undoubtedly, all the 3 Sections of the Eritrean liberation Revolution agreed upon the main and essential objective of liberating the country from the Ethiopian Colonial Yoke. They are also united in that armed struggle is the sole means of attaining that objective. Their basic differences is the system envisaged by each for the economic and social development of the Eritrean people.

The Strategic position which Eritrea occupies as an important waterway enjoining the East and the Western countries, its vicinity of the richest Oil wells in the World, makes that country a spot for international contention. Imperialism and Zionism have always had a wolfish eye on that small country.



Children take part in the Struggle

This makes it quite imperative for the liberation forces of Eritrea, in the face of such constant threat and for the early liberation of their country, to join ranks and establish a strong militant national Unity. The ultimate Victory of the Eritreans is certain; but the time factor will mainly depend on the fulfillment of this imperative requisite.

In this context, the recent meeting between the popular front for the liberation of Eritrea and the Revolutionary council of the ELF in Khartoum in which they discussed the best ways and means of effecting unification between them **was indeed** a heartening move, that corresponds to the aspirations of the Eritrean peoples. The third section, the popular forces of the

ELF, is very likely to join the dialogue soon.

The main reason why the main cities have not been liberated so far and the independence of Eritrea not declared is mainly due to the division of the liberation forces of the Eritrean Revolution and the absence of a congenial form of national Unity amongst them. Although this state of affair, if it continues to remain unresolved, will definitely delay the independence of the country, yet it can never prevent it.

The people of Eritrea have since a long time made it quite clear that they wish to live freely and peacefully in their country, if granted their inalienable national right to independence. This is the only way peace can prevail in the area.

THE LAND .. THE PEOPLE .. AND THE STRUGGLE

The Strategic position of Eritrea, being situated at the Southern gate of the Red Sea, and the outlet into the Indian Ocean, has given a special historical and social significance to that part of the world since a long period.

- «Tuhutmas III» had established the centre of Orlis along the Eritrean coast so as to defend his naval fleet in the Red Sea, at a time he was in competition with the «Phoenicians». Alexander the great had also plunged into the scene by engaging in the battle between the French and the Kingdom of Axum, siding with the latter. His final aim had, however, been to liquidate the Turkish influence in the Red Sea and the Indian who had captured Yemen.
- With the defeat of King «AL GHORI» in 1509 the whole regime fell under two different powers: The Portuguse established their way in the Indian Ocean and the Turks in the Red Sea Area, landing at the port of Assab in 1557.
- In the 19th Century the Dynasty of Mokamed Ali in Egypt sought to extend its powers to the whole regime, starting from Masawa.
- All these events and consecutive competitions verify clearly that Eritrea had never fallen at any time under Ethiopian rule.
- In 1890, the Italians captured Eritrea and made it a colony, after defeating the tribes and Sultans of that country on account of their military superiority. The Ethiopians had before them failed miserably to get control of Eritrea by might. The Italian Government had then introduced in Eritrea a somewhat relatively modern administration and a police force. Many Italians were brought into Eritrea who engaged in commerce, and crafts-work.
- After Italy fell under the fascist rule, the new system introduced in Eritrea factories, roads, railway lines, Sea Ports in order to consolidate its colonial influence in the area.
- Fifty years later, after having suffered miserably of both racial and social oppressing at the hands of the Italians, Eritrea unfortunately fell under the colonial domination of the British. That was immediately after the 2nd World War.

- In 1943 the first political institutions in Eritrea came into light. There emerged the «Patriotic Association» which was later divided into the Islamic Organisation (a Pro-British which later changed to the Italians) and the «Unity Party» (Closely Linked with the Ethiopians). Apart from these two main political organisations, there were some other minor ones that facilitated between them like «The Liberal Progressive Party» and «New Eritrea» etc.
- The Italians were defeated in the 2nd World War. The fate of the Italian colonies had to be decided by the United Nations. These countries were Libya, Somalia and Eritrea. The U.N.O. recommended that Eritrea be annexed to Ethiopia. The British, however, suggested the division of Eritrea between Ethiopia and the Sudan so that it could ultimately control the Eastern regions and the coastal Zone. The Soviet Union and some other countries proposed the complete liberation of Eritrea.
- Finally the UNO resolved (Resolution 390 — 5/a) that Eritrea get into a federation with Ethiopia on the basis of Self-autonomous and with due respect to its political and social institutions, its culture, languages and religions.
- In 1962, Emperor Haile Sellasie in Violation to all the federal Union condition annexed forcibly Eritrea into his empire to become no more than a regional constituent.
- In Sept. 1961, after all political peaceful means failed to redress the wrong meted to the Eritrean national right by Emperor Haile Sellasie, the Eritrean Revolution became the only means of liberating the country.
- The Eritrean Revolution today comprises of «The Eritrean Liberation Front» with its 3 Various groups — the Revolution Council» «The popular Front for the liberation of Eritrea», and «The popular forces of — ELF».
- In 1977, there was a meeting between the 3 factions of the ELF with the main objective of reaching a form of unification between them. The dialogue still continues; but all signs indicate that it would be before long that an agreement will soon be reached towards this end.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



JAALLE SIAD VISITS IRAN AND OTHER GULF STATES



The SDR President, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, wound up a tour which took him to Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Oman on the 5th of January.

Upon his return to Magdishu the President told reporters that he discussed with the leaders of the countries he visited on bilateral relations, the situation in the Horn of Africa and other International issues. The President added that his talks with these leaders were highlighted with identity of views on all the matters discussed.

«The leaders with whom I have met were of the view that

the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Horn of Africa region should be maintained as zones

of peace and that those who are creating troubles in the area should be confronted with all possible means in order to counteract any possible dangers that may be created by them», Jaalle Siad said.

Adding that during his middle-East tour, he emphasised the need for Arab Unity and solidarity in dealing with the middle East Issue. «Despite difference of opinion among Arab leaders, I am optimistic that in the end this will be overcome since the objective is to safeguard Arab interests and secure peace in the area» the President said.

The Horn of Africa issue was seen as being solely the co-



ncern of the Addis regime and the various nationalities fighting to liberate themselves from Abyssinian colonialism, he continued.

He said that the World is concerned with the foreign intervention in the wars of liberation reigning in the Addis colonized territories, and added that it is clear to every one that all peoples should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

President Siad and a delegation accompanying him made similar visit at the closing of January to Saudi Arabia, YAR and Jordan.

In a press statement on the 23rd of January shortly before wounding-up his stay in Riyadh Jaalle Siad declared that there is no conflict between the SDR and Abyssinia and that the issue is not a border problem left by colonial powers but on the contrary it is a colonial question. «The sad story of Abyssinian colonial expansion is well-documented in history» he explained.

«The genuine liberation forces of Western Somali, Abbo and Eritrea are struggling for their rights of self-determination against the Abyssinian colonial force», President Siad stressed. He said the question of territorial integrity is not applicable in this issue as the principle of self-determination has not been exercised here. The SDR condemned the interference of the Russians and their allies by pouring into the area huge quantities of sophisticated weapons beyond the needs of the Addis regime and

the introduction of extraneous troops into Abyssinia. «The Russian aim is to completely suppress the just struggle of the liberation movements for independence, to launch an attack on the SDR and then control the strategic areas of the Red Sea and the entrance to the Indian Ocean», he continued. «The the Russian aim, presents a greater danger not only to the countries in the area but also to those who have interests in the region and the World Peace», he stressed. The President said the indecision of the Western countries would encourage and enable the Russians and their allies to succeed in their objectives and to create a dangerous situation in the area». If peace is to be guaranteed, it is an urgent necessity to stop Russia and her allies the blatant interference in the internal affairs of the African people», he declared. «If those steps are not effected promptly all those who show concern about the matter may find it too late to contain the issue», He warned.

The President expressed concern over the serious developments taking place in Addis Ababa where the Abyssinian authorities have misused the OAU and its secretariate. «A case in point is the recent release by the Abyssinian news media that the OAU secretariat has condemned Iran, simply because that country has announced that it will support Somalia if attacked. Worthy of condemnation by all Africa is the unprincipled and shameless interference by the Russians and some of its allies and their conspiracy against independent African countries. The SDR again calls upon all African countries to expose and condemn such wanton interference in the internal affairs of African countries», Jaalle Siad said. Adding that the only way to find a permanent solution is to allow the peoples of those areas to determine their future through internationally supervised referendum.



Western countries voice concern in the Horn affairs

Representatives from the United States, Britain, France West Germany and Italy met late January in Washington to see what can be done towards ending the conflict in the Horn of Africa through peaceful negotiations.

Earlier, U.S. President Jimmy Carter expressed concern over the deteriorating situation in the Horn and accused Russia and Cuba of fuelling the conflict by pouring sophisticated arms and military personnel into the hands of the Ad-

dis-Ababa Regime in its fighting with the liberation fronts.

He saw a danger that these countries (Russia and Cuba) would commit their own forces «Transforming the conflict from a local war to a confrontation with broader strategic implications.» The President called for a non-interference of outside powers in the affairs of the Horn of Africa and that the sides concerned meet to search for a just and peaceful settlement to the problem.

The Somali Democratic Republic welcomed Mr. Carter's

peace moves and reiterated its readiness to fulfill its responsibilities as a neighbouring African country in a just and peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region. Moreover, the Somali Ambassador in Washington Jaalle Abdullahi Addow, repeated Somalia's appreciation for President Carter's suggestions for a negotiated settlement.

Continuing its intrasigent attitude, the Abyssinian Regime, however, reacted negatively to the peace calls and expressed its rejection to negotiations.

1st CONGRESS OF THE OSCM CLOSED

The Secretary General of the SRSP, President of SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare officially closed the 1st congress of the General Association of the Somali Cooperative Movements at Police Academy in Mogadishu early January. Jaalle Siad also participated in the opening ceremony of the congress when he expressed his delight at opening this historical Congress for the Foundation of the Organisation of the Somali Cooperative movement «OSCM» and said their illustration of the revolutionary achievements of the country.

The Congress which was in progress from the 6th to the 8th of January elected three committees, namely the National Committee, the Executive Committee and the Auditing and Inspection Committee. The 9 me-

mber Executive Committee consists of a Chairman, Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali, who is also a member of the SRSP Central Committee, two Vice-Chairmen and six secretaries. The five member Auditing and Inspection Committee will be chaired by Jaalle Abdullahi Hersi Samatar.

In his closing address, the Secretary General of the SRSP declared his appreciation of the congress which he said is in line with the programme of the SRSP. «This elected Committees are entrusted with the responsibility of realising the objectives of the working masses and their leadership is of paramount importance in the implementation of the adopted programme and statute», he said. The President also pointed out the need for the cooperative

movement to gear their activities and production to the transformation being undertaken in the country, stressing the necessity for the cooperative movement to make every effort to boost production so as to attain self-sufficiency. Jaalle Siad said that planning is the tool for pinpointing ones development strategies and as such emphasis should be placed to its formulation. On socialist emulation, he continued that it further promotes the principles of self-help schemes which the revolution has implemented and added that self-help schemes should be given due importance in formulating development plans. «Self-help schemes should be introduced to the productive sectors of the economy such as industries, agriculture, fisheries and others», he went on. The Secretary General urg-

ed the concerned government bodies to extend a helping hand to the cooperative and disclosed that Cooperative Law No. 40 will be reformulated in accordance with the new statute of the Cooperative Movement.

Jaalle Siad touched on the indispensability for the cooperative movements to keep abreast with technological and scientific innovations. He also underlined that the successful implementation of various cam-

paigns was due to the cohesive solidarity and cooperation of the working masses.

In the last session of the congress the programme and statute of the OSCM were approved.

CUBAN POW INTERVIEWED



total defeat demoralised them even further, he added. Mr Carlos said that the Horn of Africa problem cannot be ended by way of fighting and added that peaceful negotiations and the recognition of the rights for self-determination of those fighting for their liberation could only end the conflict.

«The Addis Regime should come to round-table peace negotiations without blinding itself to the rights of the peoples under its colonial yoke», he stressed. He told the reporters that the Abyssinian colonial soldiers in Harar and the inhabitants of Harar had no relations by way of culture, religion and language.

Mr. Carlos pointed out that during his stay in Harar, he had observed the liberation front and its relations with the people, «whether a nomad or a peasant, they acted in unity, fought in unity and mutually co-operated in ousting the Abyssinian colonisers from their territory, he said and went on to say that as a result they have defeated the illegitimate Russo-Cuban-Abyssinian alliance. He also disclosed that his unit was led by Lt. Nicholas, a Cuban Military officer.

Mr. Orlando Carlos was born in Cuue and attended a military Academy in Havana, where he had stayed for three years.

«The Russians, Cubans and others supporting the Addis Regime Colonial troops cannot face the gunfire of the Western Somali, Abbo and other liberation forces struggling for the liberation of their territories», this was disclosed by Orlando Carlos, one of the Cuban soldiers captured by WSLF in the battle for Harar on the 22nd of January 78.

Speaking to newsmen, Carlos declared that the Cuban soldiers fighting along with the Abyssinian colonial troops in their unjust war, contrary to their wishes forced to take part in the war. He further declared that the WSLF fighters inflicted heavy losses in both men and material on the unholy Russo-Cuban Abyssinian alliances in the battle for Harar. Their

EEC economic and educational assistance to Somalia discussed



The signing of the Somali — EEC Agreement

The EEC delegation led by Mr. Hanswirth, the Assistant Director General of the European Development Fund of the European economic community (CEDF/EEC) was received on 13th Jan. by the SDR Vice-President Jaalle Major-General Hussein Kulmie Afrah in his office.

The Vice-president and the leader of the delegation discussed in detail EEC economic and educational assistance to the SDR in compliance with the Lome convention.

The arrival of the delegation follows the recent visit of the SDR Vice-president Jaalle Kulmie to four Western European countries.

Present on the occasion were officials from the state planning commission, Somali Ambassador to the EEC Headquarters in Brussels and the EEC representative in Somalia.

Official talks opened on 1st February between the Somali Government and the EEC delegation.

Representing Somalia in the four hours talks were the Chairman of the state planning commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib

Ahmed, the SDR Ambassador in Brussels and other officials.

The talks were centred on EEC financial projects in the country and other aspects of co-operation between the two sides.

The Delegation was also accorded a reception by the Chairman of the SRSP economic Bureau, Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud. In their meeting with the economic Bureau Chairman the delegation held discussions on matters pertaining to the country's economic situation and co-operation with the EEC. The discussions also evolved on the development of economic capacities of public Cooperations and the promotion of their marketing capabilities. They further discussed the possibilities of EEC assistance in the Development schemes and personnel training.

On the 2nd of February the Somali Democratic Republic and the EEC signed an agreement on economic co-operation. The agreement included clauses by which EEC is to assist Somalia in completing unfinished developmental projects in the country and training of per-

sonnel. The agreement also included technical Co-operation between the two sides.

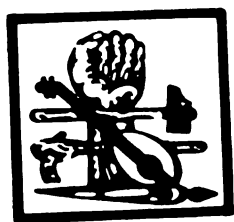
The chairman of the national planning commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib signed on the Somali side while the assistant Director-General of EEC European Development Fund, Mr. Hanswirth signed on the EEC side.

The EEC delegation wound-up their visit to Somali on the 3rd of February.

Negotiations on financial and technical cooperation took place in Mogadishu from 30th January to 5th February between a delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany, headed by Dr. Willi Ahmann, under-secretary in the ministry of economic co-operation and a delegation of the Somali Democratic Republic, headed by Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed, Chairman of the state planning commission. The negotiations took place in a friendly atmosphere.

As a result of the negotiations, the Government of the FRG has allocated an amount of DM 22 Million for an agricultural irrigation project near Mogadishu in the Juba Valley. Under the technical co-operation programme, the Water Development Agency, the nomad settlement programme, agricultural Development, Somali Airlines and the Somali Broadcasting service are to be promoted in particular with an amount of DM 12.7 million.

The Government of FRG is making available in 1978 a total of DM 53 million for financial and technical Co-operation with the Somali Government. The two sides agreed to concentrate future co-operation on the fisheries sector and the development of the Juba valley.



CULTURE AND ARTS

THE ROLE OF SOMALI WOMEN IN CULTURE



As feminist movement in world wide scale is today engaged more than any time before, in the struggle to accupy their proper place in the society. In so far that they demonstrate through the fight for their rights that they are equal to men in potentialities and in the attainment of greater advances in all dimensions of life. That being doubtlessly the case there are countless eminent number of women who have immensely contributed to enrichment of science, philosophy, arts and literature.

The Somali women are the ones who before, and upto now, carry out the tasks closely pertaining to vital household decorations and utensils. Furthermore they do not confine themselves to the utilitarian aspects of house hold implements, but give an artistic touch and refinement to this household implements.

To a great extent the Somali women are by far superior to their male counterparts in the artistic engraving of domestic material. With regard to all household implements, though we have not clear and incontrovertible evidence still there are strong assumptions pertaining to the fact that it is Somali women who invented, and further developed the above mentioned implement decorations and engravings.

The historical role our women played in decorative arts was not the only one they made contributions to, but also accomplished considerable successes in the field of literature. Over and above the ordinary household chores they specialised in composing melodious songs relating to their multifarious, and varigeted functions. The melodious folklore songs had their roots in the social consciousness of the mas-

ses. In fact those folklore songs encompassing all dimensions of life were an apt reflection of the spirit of the times, and accordingly could not be assumed to be the making of anyone individual, however versatile. In as much as most of these songs were pertinent to tasks intimately held by women, there is no doubt that women highly influenced that particular collective consciousness. Not only have they contributed to folk literature but women also have played an equal role in other fields of literature comparable to that of famous names who distinguished themselves.

Numerous are the renowned female poets who attained a distinguished place in the field of literature. The majority of them had their talents cultivated and their character moulded in the first half of the current century, during the national liberation struggle against the foreign colonial powers, and still they are in the Vanguard role. To cite but few of these highly acknowledged temal poets who have had an inspiring effect upon the freedom fighters are Fatima Hersi Ahbane, Halima Sofe, Hawa Jibril etc.

All these facts notwithstanding, the Somali public opinion yet finds it quite difficult to assure that the women can at all rank as equals with their male partners as far as verse composition is concerned. Since a very long time, the General public has took it for granted that such types or categories as «Gabay, Geeraar» which are regarded in the forefront of Somali Verse literature or «the hæes



Women using umbrella in a folk-lore dance.

and the «Dhaanto» that immediately occupy second place All these categories are some how indisputably associated with men. On the other hand «the buraanbur» is accepted as a purely female affair. To speak of a man writing «buraanbur is rather unthinkable or in fact derogatory to this character.

If this has not been the case, why don't we have female names in this field going as far back as the days of Rage Ugas, Qamman, Salaan, Ali Dhuux and the others who attained pinnacles in the world of Somali literature?. For all purposes, we cannot deny the existence of female poet's who had been as good as their male counterparts even in the era of Rage Ugas; but owing to the position of women which was considered inferior at that time kept their names in oblivion.

This state of affairs «however, is not going to last long. The historical development of the society is definitely going to put an end to it, or give it another more advanced form. Even today, when we view things soberly we discover that the women are by and large occupying a more appropriate position in the society. Of course this is first and foremost due to their unobtaing struggle which brought them recognition.

As an integral and complementary part, the recognition of their role is dependent upon the attainment of their emancipation and full equality with the men. This is absolutely interlinked with the degree of womens struggle for emancipation along with the struggle of the democratic forces of the Society.

This clarifies the fact that the repression of women and the belittling of their role is a characteristic of backwardness, as much as this emancipation and the recognition of their role as being equal to that of men is aguage of how advanced the society is.

The resolutions passed by the SRSP and the decrees enforced by the government to equate the social status of women to that of the men is of course, in line with the revolutionary trend of history. And to this effect, the role of the Somali Women in the cultural field has been enhanced. This being the case, the bitter reality still remains that a wide sector of the population still goes on looking down upon women as inferior to the men. It is also true that as yet the women are still by far behind the men in such fields as arts and literature. This is quite evident from the disparity in the number of women who have produced any work

of literature or are presently engaged in writing of novels, features, theatrical plays, short stories, music, painting etc.

This irrefutable truth makes it incumbent upon us all men and women to struggle hard in advancing the process of women's emancipation that seems to be moving at an appreciable swing.

The executive Committee of the Somali Democratic women organization has recently took steps that will definitely have a positive impact upon the promotion of our arts. From 1-17 January 78, the various districts of the Benadir region have witnessed a folklore competition staged by the women organisation. Prior to this welcome move, there had been the establishment in almost all the districts of the country of such bodies as the womens section for arts and cultural promotion. Amongst the first tasks these sections accomplished were the revival of the traditional material dresses and costumes. In their fanciful attires, those groups of women would take both in the celebrations of material anniversary demonstrations or other festivals.

The arts competition between the women in the various districts, as the secretary of arts and culture of the women organisation asserts, did not only aim at improving the women's standards in these spheres, but also as a means of mobilising the women section of the population for combating illiteracy and improving their appreciation of arts and culture.

The first part of this competition which was in the sphere of folklore dances took place in the orientation centres of «Shibis» «Bondhere» and «Weberi».

The 14 districts of Benadir region were divided between these

3 centres; 4 districts in Shibis and 5 each in the other two. The three winner groups were the «Abdula-ziz», «Bondhere». and «Wadajir» groups.

Then those three groups later met in the finals at Shingani Orien-

tation Centre. In this final round, Bondhere group came out victorious. This competition which was highly appreciated by the general public will be followed by other events to be held on a national level on the occasion of the forthco-

ming international day of women-8th March 1978.

It is natural that these forthcoming cultural events will definitely produce new talents and bring fresh personalities into the limelight there by boosting the role of women in our Social development.



HISTORICAL STAGES IN PAINTINGS.

By Rufalo

Ever since the evolution of human society in our planet, man was bent on communicating his ideas to his fellow beings in the easiest possible means. This communication depended upon the level of development of human knowledge and the modernisation of the techniques utilized for such purposes.

Language has served as the best means utilised by man in the practical dissemination of human experience and knowledge.

The Language inherited by son from father was the earliest device used as means by man to communicate the human experience and knowledge from generation to generation.

This method, supposedly, the most ancient means of transferring information and experience was utilized by a certain section of the human society more than others. That historical phase came to be known as the era of the «Oral tradition».

This earlier oral stage, later in the process of human development was supplemented by the improvement and utilization of memory. The stage of human development of this aspect of reality had its own specific peculiarities.

Many such old paintings were discovered on mountain tops.

The method of preservation of such picture carvings and its graduation is known as «Rupesor» called thus due to the fact that the paintings bore lines and stripes made on the surface of mountains. The main purpose of these paintings were to inform whoever came to these areas that there had lived people with both knowledge and property.

Most of the paintings or inscriptions on the stones, clay pots, kettles etc. Were mainly the pictures of animals such as Oxen, horses, elephants, and other animals which that particular community herded or hunted. Moreover, these paintings more often than not used to indicate fortune-telling intended to bring prosperity to the locality. This has been confirmed by many scientists although they may differ in interpretation.

The «Rupesor» which is one of the oldest forms of inscriptions was also used as a means of exchange or as currency. In our contemporary history this habit is still prevalent in some areas in Central and Latin America, and Africa.

Between 3000 - 3500 B.C. the Middle East Region has seen the establishment of two major civilizations: The Egyptian and «Mesopotamian Civilization» which sprang in the river Nile and the

Tigres and Euphrates (The land between the two rivers). These two great civilizations have since had a that time humanity had not known any written language. Therefore, the people resorted to the natural objects as symbols to help them foresee events and comprehend ideas etc., so as to remind oneself and others of their true meaning such as: man needed to keep record of the number of animal stocks in his possession, the days of the month remarkable events he encountered at a particular place or particular memorable time.

In our contemporary history this period is best represented by the monuments that were erected ages ago. The oldest of such monuments are to be found in England. Many other man-made monuments which are not engraved are today found in Palestine and some African countries. This period had also seen the emergence of such implements as knotted ropes various designs of belts, signs and other marks, wooden sticks cut in various lengths and different bearings. What is of specific interest is the need for deeper study of the uses to which these articles are put to, in the contemporary era.

The stone age (400,000 to 3,000 years B.C.) had seen the introduction of stone carved implements widely used by the human society for multipurpose functions.

At this historical phase, pictures were inscribed on stone objects which were used as information media. Some of the first hand paintings went beyond the stone age period a remarkable imprint in the development of the human civilization that followed. They have laid the bases and the foundation of a written language, which became the most essential means of communication.

The history of «written language» is divided into three stages:

1. Pittography
2. Ideography
3. Phonetic

Let us now give a brief definition to each of these stages.

PITTOGRAPHY

This stage emerged with the formation of «Clan» or «Tribe» which found it expedient to have certain signs or objects to govern their lives as traditional laws and tribal customs. The continuation of a number of inscriptions became a written version known as the «Pitographic». The ideas we-

re represented by a number of pictures punctuated by certain small signs.

IDEOGRAPHIC: This stage began 3000 years before the birth of Christ. The means of communication in this stage were signs and pictures which were representatives of certain ideas or information. So it constituted an advanced and easier method of communication since each particular sign conveyed a full meaning by itself. Besides, ideography was gradually gaining development and variety in forms.

Amongst the first, was the hieroglyphics invented by the Egyptians. This was a continuation of two forms. The first example used for the interpretation by priests and religious men and often inscribed on the prodigious monuments and temples. This seems to be more detailed and better advanced than the normal wood engravings and others such as marble lined articles.

There was another form which had fewer characters and seemed to better serve the purpose of

the general public. It was also more easily understood by the ordinary people.

The writing that was used by the people in the Mesopotamian plain at that time was called «Cuneiform» so named since all the letters looked like a sharp edged instrument. The ideographic phase seems to have given place now to other forms more modern and convenient. And experts in this say that the Chinese script is today the closest to the «ideographic» form.

PHONETIC

This is the most modern method used in the present stage of human history. Every word is made of various sounds which when combined together convey the meaning of the intended ideas. It is the method of conveying information by way of speech. This is internationally known the era of the «Alphabets».

In coming issues of Halgan we continue to discuss further dimensions of the present topic.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



Statute of the organisation of Somali Co operatives Movement

The Organization of Somali Co-operative Movement is a democratic mass movement reflecting one of the main achievements of the the October 21st 1969 Revolution currently led by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. Following the birth of the Socialist Revolution, serious efforts have been undertaken to emancipate the Somali masses from the long period of exploitation, suffering and injustices perpetrated upon them by feudalism and capitalism, in colonial and neo-colonial forms.

Among the main objectives of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, under the wise guidance of its Secretary General, Jaalle Siad, is the policy of leading the Somali nation to economic self-sufficiency and general prosperity.

The movement of Somali Co-operative Organizations derives its fundamental principle from scientific socialism. One of its main objectives is the creation of an economic base for the promotion and protection of the interests and welfare of the members of the co-operatives, and the improvement of their cultural and general living standards.

The Organisation also aims at the transformation of its membership into useful citizens who can actively participate in the economic development of the country, in the proper exploitation of its natural resources, so that we may attain economic self-sufficiency and

there by elevate the international stature of our country.

The Organisation of Somali Co-operative Movement will group together the poor and other disadvantaged classes who shall combine their human and material resources for their common good. The Organisation will vigorously combat:-

1. All forms of exploitation.
2. All policies opposed to the interests of the co-operatives.
3. Tribalism and all reactionary forces and their agents who exploit tribalism.
4. All propaganda and any other activities made to hamper the implementation of the policies of the Party or impede the progress of our Scientific Socialist Revolution.

The Movement of Somali Co-operatives Organizations will utilize science and modern technology in order to bring about qualitative as well as quantitative improvements in its members production, it shall strive for the industrialisation of co-operative production as intimated in the Party policies which aim at the general improvement of production techniques. Through the proper use of science and modern technology, the organisation plans to promote a reduction in imports, increases in exports while fighting against black marketeering and inflation:-

PART. 1

Article 1

THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT:

Is the central organization for all types of cooperatives in the Somali Democratic Republic.

THE GENERAL CONGRESS:

Is the highest authority of the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE:-

1. Is the Supreme organ of the organisation of Somali Cooperative Movement during the interval between any two General Congresses.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:-

Is the highest executive authority of the Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement during the interval between any two sessions of the National Committee.

Article 2

EMBLEM AND SEAT OF THE GENERAL ORGANISATION.

1. Organisation of the Somali Co-operatives Movement shall have its seat in Mogadisho the capital of the Somali Democratic Republic and shall have the power to establish branches in all the regions, districts, and villages of the Somali Democratic Republic.

2. The Organisation shall have an emblem of its own.

Article 3

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GENERAL ORGANISATION

It shall be the responsibility of the Organisation:-

1. To prepare and supervise the production plans and investments of the Organisation of the Co-operatives.

2. To prepare co-operative plans aiming at the utilization of the available manpower and technological resources, and in co-ordination with national plans.

3. To assist factories and agencies of co-operative organizations in the regions districts, and villages so that they may increase their knowledge of science, industry, progress of the modern technology and the general progressive experience, drawing on the guidance of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and state organs.

Article 4

1. MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership here means both individual and organization membership. All existing co-operative organizations as well as these that will be formed in the future and registered legally may become members of the Organisation of Somali Co-operative Movement.

2. Membership in co-operative organisation in agriculture, livestock, small factories and workshops, handicrafts, fishing, forestry, consumer goods and construction shall be confined to these workers who are engaged in the said fields, and who are at the same time ready to participate in the activities of the co-operatives.

Article 5

DUTIES OF MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISATION

Any individual or organisation that is a member of the General Organization of the Co-operatives is required :

1. To accept and firmly believe in the program and law of the co-operatives.

2. To abide by the resolutions and directives of the General organisation of the cooperatives and superior authorities.

3. To implement with full sincerity the responsibilities which the General Organisation may designate to it.

4. Individuals to sacrifice, if necessary, their time, property and even their very existence for the interests of the co-operatives, and to maintain high moral standard, while at the same time constantly learning the progressive methods of production.

5. To participate in the administrative affairs of the co-operatives and strengthen and safe-guard the property of the co-operative.

Article 6

RIGHTS OF MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATIONS

Individuals and organizations that are members of the General Organisation of Co-operatives shall be entitled:

1. To participate in the deliberations and passage of resolutions in the GENERAL CONGRESS with one vote per member.

2. To vote and run for elective offices.

3. To present his/her ideas clearly and without any fear at the meetings of the members of the Organization.

4) To occupy any point in the organization if elected or nominated to it.

5) To the protection of his/her interests relating to work and living in general by the Organizations.

6) To employment by the co-operatives and to just remuneration according to his/her input.

7) To an equitable compensation the assets of the cooperatives for the tools of production which he/she contributes to the cooperatives.

8) To receive assistance, if needed should arise, from the assistance fund of the cooperative.

PART TWO

Article 7

STRUCTURE

The Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement may consist of the existing cooperative organizations and those that may be formed in the future:

1. Organization of Agricultural Cooperatives.

2. Organization of fishing Co-operatives.

3. Organisation of Consumer and Services Cooperatives.

4. Organisation of Livestock forestry and Incense Cooperatives.

5. Organisation of Factories and Handicraft Cooperatives.

6. Organisation of Construction, and Transport. Cooperatives.

Article 8

STRUCTURE OF THE HIGHER ORGANS OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT

The Structure and functions of the Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement is based on the principle of democratic centralism, which means:

1. That all committee elections shall proceed from below upwards.

2. That committees at lower levels shall implement the decisions and instructions of committees at higher levels.

3. That there shall be strict discipline which in turn means that the minority ones shall abide by the decisions of the majority.

4. That the affairs of the organization shall be administered proper

ly collectively and with mutual consultation. No cooperative organization shall reach unilateral decisions without prior consultation of committees at lower levels. However, the executive committees may reach such decisions if these decisions do not contradict the program and the law of the organization as well as the decisions of the national committee.

5. That the structure of the General organization shall have national regional, district and village setup, going all the way to organizational links that shall follow the natural lines of respective trades.

PART THREE

POWERS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HIGHER ORGANS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

ARTICLE 9

GENERAL CONGRESS

1. The general congress is the supreme and most powerful organ of the cooperative organizations. It sets the goals and responsibilities of the general organization of the cooperatives. It forms and calls into session the national committee of the general organization of the cooperatives. The general congress meets once every five years.

The timing and agenda of the general congress shall be revealed not less than 45 days before the congress meets.

2. The general congress shall specify the internal and external policies of the general organization of the cooperatives, adopt and/or amend the program and the law.

It listens to reports of the national committee and elects members of the national committee of the movement of the general organization of the cooperatives.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ARTICLE 10

1. The national committee is the highest organ of the organiza-

tion of Somali cooperatives movement during the interval between two General congress. The number of its membership shall be determined by the General congress.

2. The national committee shall specify the general strategy relating to the activities of the general organization. It shall meet once every six months and may call into session an extraordinary meeting of the general congress if 2/3 of its membership decide.

3. Sessions of the national committee shall be presided over by the president of the organization of Somali cooperatives movement.

ARTICLE 11

DUTIES AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. The national committee shall elect:

a) The president of the Organization of the general Somali cooperatives.

b) The executive committee.

c) The auditing committee.

2. The national committee investigates the work of the executive committee and discusses with it any important issue for which the executive committee may be accountable to the national committee.

3. It prepares the organization by laws and organizes the organization's internal and external relations.

4. The national committee may increase or decrease the number of members of the executive committee in response to General need.

5. The national committee has the responsibility to harmonize the structural set up of the organization.

6. The national committee has the responsibility to formulate and activate cooperative organizations and to specify the number of their branches.

7. Delegates of cooperatives organizations from the regions, and districts to the general congress shall be elected by the committees from their respective organizations but the number of these delegates shall be fixed by the national committee.

8. The national committee has the authority to approve membership in Arab, African, or other international general organizations of cooperatives.

ARTICLE 12

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. The executive committee of the organization of Somali cooperative movement is elected by the national committee for a term of office of five years and it is the highest executive organ of the general organization of Somali cooperatives during the interval between any two sessions of the national committee.

2. The Executive committee shall consist of:

a). President of the executive committee.

b). Two vice-presidents.

c). Secretary of the department of foreign affairs.

d). Secretary of the Legal and records department.

e). Secretary of the planning and production department.

f). Secretary of the Education, vocational training and the development.

g). Secretary of the administration and finance department.

h). Secretary of the mobilization and social affairs department.

ARTICLE 13

1). The inspection and auditing committee of the organization of Somali cooperatives movement shall consist of chairman, vice chairman and three members and shall be

elected by the national committee once every five years.

2). The inspection and auditing committee is responsible for the inspection and auditing of the activities of the cooperative organization and of the executive committee. The committee inspects how the decisions of the general congress, the national committee are being implemented.

It insures that the activities of the cooperative organizations are carried out according to the law and program of the general organization.

The inspection and auditing committee, whose chairman is elected by the National Committee works directly with the President of the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives movement

3) The inspection and auditing committee investigates and reports to the executive committee on any complaints and disputes that may arise between cooperative organizations or among their members. The Committee may also investigate any complaints made by General Public against the cooperatives. The Committee has the right to have access to all cooperative documents pertinent to the matters under investigation and inspection. The Committee can recommend the prosecution in a court of law any body who embezzles cooperative funds or neglects cooperative property.

Article 14

PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANISATION OF SOMALI COOPERATIVES MOVEMENT.

1. The President is the legal and executive head of the General Organization and is elected by the National Committee. He is the legal representative of the Organization to the Party, Governments Organs, Companies and other Social Organizations and

functions within the country and outside.

2. The duties of the President are:

a) To call General Congresses into session as well as meeting of the National and Executive Committees.

b) To counter sign all financial expenditures beyond the competence of the Secretary of the Finance department, as specified in the by laws of the Organization

c) To play an active role in the Movement and in all matters relating to the development of cooperative affairs.

Article 15

THE VICE-PRESIDENTS

1. The Vice-Presidents of the Organisation of Somali cooperatives Movement are elected by the National Committee. The First Vice-President shall occupy the position of the President of the Movement when the elected President is unable to fulfill his duties, because of illness, absence within or outside the country, or because of other reasons.

2. The First Vice-President shall be responsible for political and social affairs,

3. The Second Vice-President shall be responsible for administration, economic and financial affairs.

Article 16

SECRETARY OF ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

This Office consists of the Secretary of Administrative affairs and an assistant. The duties of the Secretary of Administration are:

1) To direct the administrative affairs of the General Organization and the Executive Committees of the General Organization and Communicate them to the concerned regions and districts.

2) Collect, Preserve, systematize and keep in safe place all files of the workers of the cooperative organizations, and safeguard all the National and the Executive Committee documents.

3) Collect and keep in safe custody the organization's funds.

4) Administer the organization's expenditures and accounts.

5) Administer the organization's project investments.

6) To register, maintain, and project the property of the organizations.

7) To prepare and report on the Organization's budget.

8) To sponsor fairs for the merchandise of the cooperatives.

9) To register the organization's workers, salaries, compensations

Article 17

SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Organization for Foreign Affairs and an assistant nominated by the Executive Committee. The duties of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs are:

1. To work at the systematization and strengthening of the ties between the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement and other international Cooperative organizations with which the Somali cooperative Organization has relations.

2. To work for the class relations of the Somali Cooperative Organizations and those of friendly countries.

3. To represent the Organization abroad at all international meetings in which cooperative interests are discussed and to report to those meetings about the Organisation of Somali Cooperative Movement and the activities of the Somali cooperative organizations.

Article 18

SECRETARY OF THE LEGAL AND RECORDS DEPARTMENT

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Legal and Records Department and an assistant nominated by the Executive Committee. The duties of the Secretary of the Legal and Records Department are:

- 1) To prepare follow up on the laws, concerning the Somali Cooperative Organizations, and in general to collect the laws of the country.
- 2) To maintain ties and affiliation with the legal organs of the Party, the State, and social organisations in the country.
- 3) To register and work for the legalization of the cooperative organizations.
- 4) To prepare the by-law and resolutions of the cooperative organizations, when appointed to that work by the National Committee

Article 19.

SECRETARY OF THE PLANNING, AND PRODUCTION DEPARTMENT

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Planning and Production Department and an assistant by the Executive Committee. The duties of the Secretary of Planning and Production Department are:

- 1) To Plan and organise the methods by which the cooperative program and responsibilities are carried out, and to advice other departments on matters concerning proper planning for their respective responsibilities.
- 2) To explore and make research on the methods of investment and combination as necessitated by the ecological realities.
- 3) To Plan-long and short — terms projects and to scientifically determine the easiest means by which cooperative production can

be industrialized, making use of the available modern technology

- 4) To make general and particular censuses and make a critical evaluation of the projects undergoing implementation.
- 5) To Plan and organize a system of socialist workers emulation drives and to prepare the progress reports of the projects of the cooperative Organizations.
- 6) To look all matters concerning labour, production and organization of work.
- 7- Direct responsibility and accountability to the Organization for all activities connected with the improvement of production of the various cooperatives.
- 9- To help and advice the cooperatives in the selection of projects.
- 10) To organize socialist emulation drives and to award prizes.

Article 20

SECRETARY OF THE MOBILIZATION AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

This Office consists of the Secretary of the Mobilization and Social Affairs Department and an assistant. The duties of this Secretary are:

1. To arouse and create cooperative sentiments in the cooperative members, and to wage war on the doctrines opposed to the interests of the cooperatives.
2. To establish and disseminate the journals which represent the voice of the Cooperatives and to inform our cooperatives about the international movement of cooperatives.
3. To establish and maintain ties between the National Committee and the regions and districts.
4. To establish links between the movement of the General Organization cooperatives with the party.

5. To try to solve the social problems of the members of the Cooperatives.

6. To raise the standards of knowledge of the members of the cooperatives about culture and sports
7. To create sports groups and plan sports competitions among the cooperative Organizations.
8. To organise art, music, and theatre groups imbued with socialist sentiments for the cooperative organization.
9. To prepare suitable cadre for the Organization's activities, and work.
10. To disseminate the teaching of scientific Socialism, oppose the propaganda of the reactionary forces, imperialism and neo-colonialism, and to fight against tribalism.
11. To prepare posters, rallies, and orientational lessons according to the principles of scientific socialism.

Article 21

SECRETARY OF EDUCATION VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS.

This Office consists of the Secretary of Education, etc and an assistant nominated by the Executive Committee. The duties of the secretary are:

- 1) To eradicate illiteracy and lack of political awareness from the midst of the cooperatives.
- 2) To organize training programs and seminars for craftsmen and members of the Cooperatives.
- 3) To organize debates and seminars for the cooperative committees of all levels.
- 4) To spread general as well as vocational education by which committees presented a final draft to cooperative organizations work so as to create cooperative that are aware of the importance of skills and the value of education.

5) To establish a cooperative training and research institute without which self-sufficiency in skilled manpower in the needed fields can never be realized.

6) To raise the political awareness of the members of the cooperatives.

PART IV

COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR DIVISIONS

Article 22

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION

1) The Agricultural cooperative organization combines within it all farmers cooperatives whose objective is to increase agricultural production in order that we may realize the call of the party, which is the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production and even to export surplus food.

2) The Agricultural cooperative organization consists of three kinds of cooperatives:

- a) Multipurpose cooperatives.
- b) Associational or Group cooperatives.
- c) Communes or advanced socialist cooperatives.

3) The Agricultural cooperatives organization fosters the growth of agricultural cooperatives so that they may fulfill the aims and aspirations towards self-sufficiency in agricultural production, and the organization also pioneers the development of the cooperatives to the advanced stage of co-operative development.

4) The Agricultural cooperatives shall combine their human and material resources in order that they may attain their goal of increased and collective production with the help of science and modern technology.

5) The Agricultural cooperatives organization defends the welfare and interests of the small farmer

and shall always strive for the unification and collectivization of the farmers.

Article 23

FISHING COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION

1) The Fishing and Ocean resources cooperative organization covers all cooperatives concerned with catching and marking fish. These cooperatives shall cooperate in matters relating to their duties such as processing and storage of their catches purchase procurement and preservation of their tools, sale, transport, industrialization and display of their production. They shall also cooperate in the use of their equipment motorized boats, nets and in all administrative system.

2. The fishing and ocean resources cooperatives shall have a collective administrative system.

Article 24.

SMALL FACTORIES AND CRAFTSMEN COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION

1. The Small Factories and Craftsmen Cooperatives Organization is a democratic organization based on the principles of socialist collectivization, and encompasses all small factories and craftsmen cooperatives. It initiates and leads all activities of the cooperatives in the organization for the qualitative and quantitative improvement of their production. The organization pioneers the industrialization of the cooperatives modes of production by making use of science and modern technology.

2. The objective of the small factories and craftsmen cooperatives organization is to raise cooperative assets with which to meet the needs of the members of the cooperatives. Such cooperative assets shall, therefore, represent an increment in the socialized wealth of the country and a growth in

the general economy of the country.

Article 25.

CONSUMER AND SERVICES COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION.

The organization of consumer and services cooperatives is a democratic cooperative organization with class orientation. Its objective is the liberation of the workers and the masses from the injustices and exploitation of the acquisitive big businessmen. The organization aims at the establishment of general consumer and service cooperatives which sell goods imported by the state to the workers and the masses at reasonable prices.

1) The organization shall strive for the improvement of the quality of merchandise and services sold to the people by the consumer and services cooperatives. So as to care for the general health of the public the organization shall try hard to maintain accountable standards of cleanliness and hygiene in the consumer and other goods sold to the people. It shall inspect the means through which the cooperatives implement the law and program of the movement of Somali organisation cooperatives. The administration of these cooperatives shall be collective and their accounting system unified.

2) The organization of consumer and services shall concern itself with the establishing of food stores, coffee tea shops, Hotels, Tailorships, Butcheries and grain-groceries, barbershops, and pharmacies.

3) The Organization shall strive for the implementation of the national economic plans.

4) The organization shall give the widest publicity possible to the principles and benefits of socialist collectivization in order to attract new membership to the cooperatives.

Article 26.

LIVESTOCK, FORESTRY AND INCENSE COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION.

1) The Organization of the Livestock Forestry and Incense cooperatives is a democratic organization committed to socialist collectivization. Within it are all the livestock, Forestry and Incense cooperatives. The organization shall initiate the formation of cooperatives for livestock, animal fattening, forest and pasture ranges, sale of animals, experimentation with animal breeding, water and other necessities for the existence of livestock. With the cooperation of concerned state organs this organization shall achieve the ultimate industrialization of the livestock resources of the country.

2) The organization shall preserve trees and the member cooperatives shall strictly abide by the national policy directed against the dangerous effect of social erosion.

3) The organization shall work for the preservation of forests with economic value such as timber, rubber, frankincense, gums, caawda, etc.

4) The above named forests of economic importance shall be utilized through cooperatives. No tithes or monetary rents shall be realized from these forests, nor shall these trees be offered for sale to anybody.

5) The organization of these cooperatives shall have collective administrative and accounting system.

Article 27.

CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSPORT COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION.

1) The Organization of Construction and Transport Cooperatives is a democratic Organization based on socialist principles. It includes all cooperatives in the welfare of the cooperative members and the general public as well, the

organization shall organize and lead all workers making their living by working on building stones and through the production of lime

2) These cooperatives shall collect their tools and labour. However, they shall not offer unprocessed soil and sand for sale as this is contrary to cooperative aims and objectives.

3) The Organization shall have for the construction of housing so that the need of the public for shelter can be met. In this regard, the organization shall attempt to build more houses making use of technology and, in particular, mechanized construction industry.

4) The Organization shall strive for the integration and collectivization of the scattered garages and workshops in order to raise their level of production and skills, and improve their economic lot.

PART VI

REGIONAL, DISTRICT AND VILLAGE COMMITTEES

Article 28.

COMMITTEES OF COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REGIONS, DISTRICTS AND VILLAGES.

1. Every organization that is a member of the organization of Somali Cooperatives movement shall have organization committees composed of elected delegates from the component member cooperatives. At the same time every member cooperative shall have a committee of its own.

2. The Regional and district committees shall be elected once every five years by members of the cooperative committees, and cooperative committees shall be elected by the cooperative members once every five years.

3. The organization committee shall meet once every three years while the cooperative committee shall meet twice every week

Article 29.

REGIONAL, DISTRICT AND VILLAGE COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

1) These organizations shall have an environmental base so that the administration of the regional, district, and village cooperatives may be unified, and they shall have regional cooperative organizations and district and village cooperative committees.

2) Committees of the regional cooperative organization shall be elected once every five years.

3) Like wise district cooperative committees shall be elected once every five years.

Article 30.

MEETINGS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REGIONAL COOPERATIVES.

1) The organization of regional cooperatives is the highest organ of the cooperatives at the regional level, and shall meet once every three months.

2) The district cooperative committee is the highest authority of the cooperative at the district level and shall meet once every two months.

3) Village cooperative committees may meet once every month.

PART VII

FINAL-PROVISIONS

Article 31.

PROPERTY AND BUDGET OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION

The Budget of the General Organization shall consist of :

1) Income from business activities of the organization itself.

2) Contributions from the member organizations.

3) Donations from regional and district cooperative organizations, their corporations and agencies.

4) Contributions from the Party, the state social organizations, and from other internal and external sources.

Article 32.

DIVISION OF THE INCOME OF THE COOPERATIVES

The system of sharing of coope-

rative profits and income shall be specified by the National Committee and shall be explained in the by-laws.

Article 33.

ABOLITION AND AMALGAMATION OF COOPERATIVES

Whenever it becomes clear that a cooperative is insolvent or the need arises for the combination of a number of cooperatives the Na-

tional Committee of the organisation of Somali Cooperative movement shall have the power to abolish such an insolvent cooperative or combine any number of these as the case may be, taking into account the recommendation of the executive committee.

N/B : Any further explanation or clarification which is not mentioned in this law shall be included in the by-laws.



Declaration of the 1st congress of the organisation of the Somali Co-operative movement

The 1st Congress of the Somali co-operative movement was held at Mogadishu from 6-8th January 1978 at the Somali academy. 505 delegates participated in the deliberations of the congress, representing various co-operatives in the SDR.

The Congress was highly valued and appreciated by the participation of the leader, teacher of the revolution, the Secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare, members of the c.c, Polit-buro members of CC of SRSP, Government officials and the leaders of the Social Organizations. In the few days in which the Congress was held, the deliberations of the congress were carried out in a revolutionary and Socialist Spirit.

Holding the congress of the Somali Cooperative Movement is in line with decisions of the 3d plenary meeting of the C.C of SRSP concerning with the reestablishment of the Social Organisations and the directives of the Secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare.

Hence, the 1st Congress of the Somali Cooperative Movement was held a year and few months after

the establishment of SRSP and after the establishment of the SWDO, GUSW and USRY.

The Congress expressed clearly the class-character of the Somali cooperatives. The first congress of the organization of the Somali cooperatives coincided with a period, when the Somali people still under colonial yoke are waging an armed struggle for attaining their independence; it also came in a time, when the Somali working masses are in a fierce struggle for implementing the basis of Socialist Organization, increasing productivity, fight against imperialism, colonialism and all kinds of exploitation. The congress coincided also with a new period, when the Somali working masses are giving serious consideration safeguarding the achievements of the Revolution, safeguarding the independence and unity of the Somali people as well as strengthening the progressive consciousness of the Somali masses.

The 1st Congress of OSCM have listened to the wise speech given by Secretary General of the SRSP in which he Scientifically analysed the world issues, especially the ten-

sions at the Horn of Africa. The speech discussed in detail the situation in the Horn, the conflicting forces and emphasised that the victory will side with the fighting people for their right, the just struggle of WSLF, Abbo, Eritrea, Afar and the progressive forces of Ethiopia. The Secretary General has pointed out the bright future of the Somali working masses in construction of a socialist Society, and elimination of all kinds of exploitation.

The congress also have listened the report of the CCof SRSP co-operative Bureau. The report of the Bureau gave details on the cooperative movement in Somalia and the different stages of its development till today, when the country is in a revolutionary era led by a new-type party and when social organizations has been organised. The congress has put forward the regulations and programme of the OSCM, which laid down the democratic base for the mobilization and organization of the organization.

The first congress of the organization of the Somali Cooperative

Movement after hearing the magnificent speech of the General Secretary and all written documents which have been put forward, has elected a national committee, and adopted the following decisions:-

A) The Somali cooperatives should live by, implement and adopt the ideas and concepts laid down by Secretary General of SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre's in his speech to the congress.

B) The Somali cooperatives should fulfill and implement the programme and regulations of the organization.

C) The Somali cooperatives in its work consider and purposefully employ the report of the C.C. of SRSP cooperative Bureau as a historical document.

A PROMISE

The first Congress of the organization of the Somali cooperatives taking his inspiration from the political programme of SRSP, considering the new situation of the country, taking the directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP departing from the Scientific Socialist principles for the benefit of working masses, promises.

— To fulfill and carry out the programme of SRSP, guided by the principles of scientific socialism, and creation of new social relations based on justice equality and unity.

— To implement the decisions of the plenary sessions of CC of SRSP and the directives of the teacher of the Somali working masses Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre.

— To continue the just fight in order to achieve the cherished goal of the Somali people, which is to secure their existence, to achieve independence, Unity and real progress.

— To support, safeguard and defend the achievements and fruits

of the revolution and to march in a unified and conscious manner on the long path of the 21 Oct. Revolution.

— To increase and enhance productivity and to develop the quality of production, in order to achieve a complete self sufficiency.

— To safeguard and strengthen the discipline, good conduct, which are the life and basis of the organization.

— To strengthen the solidarity of the working people, in order to counteract against the conspiracies of the reactionary forces and to oppose set-backs.

— To fight unmercifully the reactionary forces, corruption, tribalism, nepotism, regionalism, selfishness, laziness, theft of the cooperative assets etc.

The first congress of the Somali cooperative Movement, has clearly announced that the Somali cooperatives are part of the world worker's movement, fighting for independence, democracy, peace and progress, and opposing imperialism, racism, zionism and all kinds of exploitation, and the Somali cooperative do believe that the final victory is on the side of those who are fighting for independence and democracy. The First Congress has warned seriously the intervention of the external forces in the Affairs of the Horn. And the first congress following the speech of the General Secretary of SRSP Jaalle Mhamed Siad Barre has pointed out that the objective of the Intervention of external forces in the affairs of the Horn is to endanger the sovereignty of the Somali people, to eliminate the National liberation Movement and nihilation of the basic principles of the self-determination of all nations, as well as to interfere in the African affairs, thus endangering the African and world peace.

The Somali cooperatives considering the particular conditions of the country and international experience, and giving a vital importance to the fulfillment of their proletarian tasks announce clearly:-

— That they fully support the world workers movement, and fully solidarise with them.

— That they give a full support to the national liberation Movements, fighting for their political independence, against exploitation, for building progressive and democratic society. The victory is on the side of Just fight for the elimination of colonialism, and creation of an independent and free society, thus the Organization of the Somali Cooperative Movement is in line with the basic political principle of the 21 Oct. Revolution of 1969, the policy of SRSP, and employing purposefully the ideas and wise directives of the Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, denounces:

— The Colonialism, their conspiracies and multi-colored subterfuges on the just struggle of nationalists specially the fascist, imperialist of Ethiopia.

— Neo-colonialism efforts to keep the people's of the world under their yoke in order to exploit the resources of the developing countries.

— Racism supported by the international exploiters, against the rights of the African people.

— Zionism denying the right of the Arab people, especially the Palestinian people.

— The arrogance of some of the big powers who are imposing nations.

The Congress of the Somali Cooperative Movement points out clearly that the qualitative transformation of the cooperatives and

their vital role they reached, aside the subjective conditions, was achieved through the mobilization training, support of the 21 Oct. Revolution and the right guidance of the SRSP.

The Somali cooperatives give a valuable consideration which will be unseparable from their history, and an infinite full respect to Jaalle «Siad». For this reason, the congress convey its thanks and salute to the Secretary General of the SRSP, for his valuable participation, for making possible and implementing this congress. The first congress conveys great thanks to CC of SRSP, the preparation committees, who were ready and alert for the smooth running and success of the congress.

The congress also gives great thanks to the Somali police forces and the Somali police academy, which had the honour that the congress has held in it, and the role played by the heads, officers as well as the policemen of this Academy.

The first congress conveys thanks to the honourable Guests representing the social organizations and Government, and thanks also to all heads, Associations, public agencies and masses, who supported and congratulated, showing their good will and appreciation for the congress.

The first congress congratulates reconsiders and highly appreciates the historical role of the members of SRSP, who undertook the 21 Oct.

rober Revolution of 1969, and made possible for the Somali masses and specially the cooperatives to grow and take their active role in building of a new socialist society. The congress conveys great thanks to the central committee of the the SRSP and its different organizations, which made possible the organization of the congress of the Somali cooperative movement in order to achieve its new tasks in this new era.

LET SOMALIA UNITE.

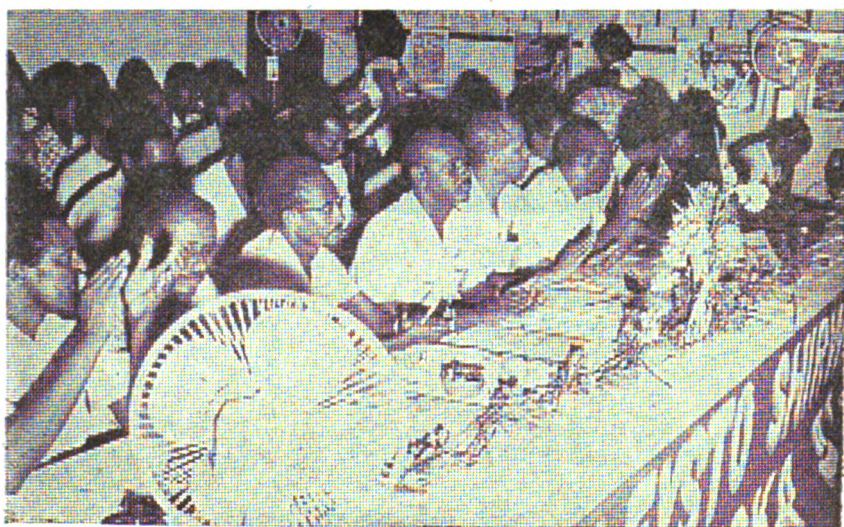
LONG LIVE THE SRSP

LONG LIVE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOMALI COOPERATIVES



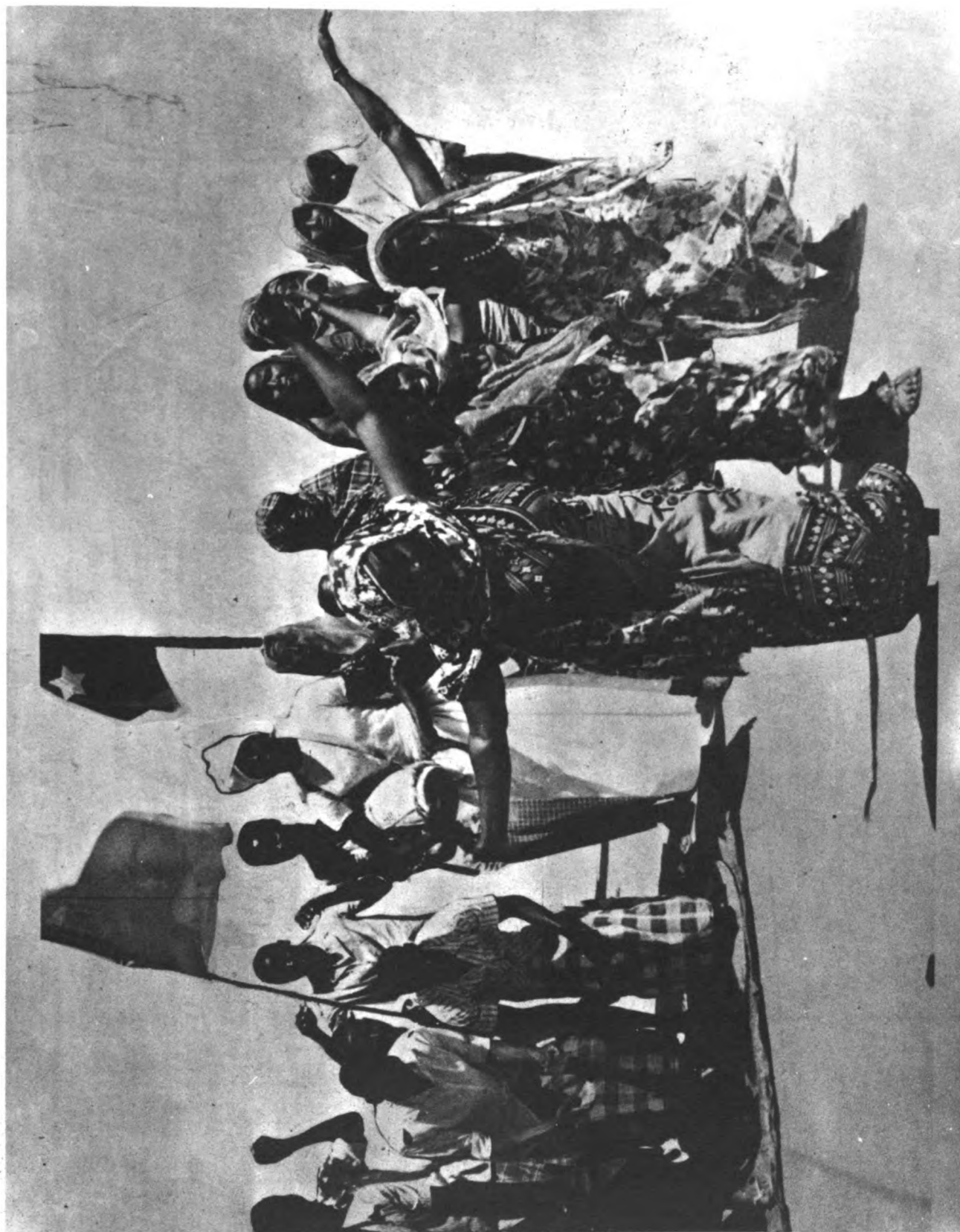
The Secretary General of the SRSP opening the 1st congress of the OSCM.

The President of the SDR and other C.C members attending the congress of the OSCM.



**THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF HALGAN TAKE THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO EXTEND THEIR HEART-FELT
FELICITATION TO THE 1ST CONGRESS OF
THE SOMALI COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT.**

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One of the dances performed by the somali women's cultural competition



**One of the Posters portraying the 1st congress
of the somali cooperative movement**

HAILGAN!

(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY



Mass Culture and the Somali Personality

Zimbabwe: The internal settlement and
the patriotic Front

Brief Critique: Bourgeois Economic
Theories of Under- develop-
ment

Background to the national struggle
of the Western Somali.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

published monthly by the
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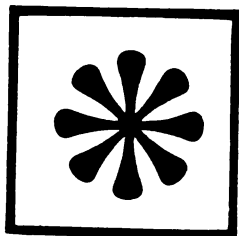
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EDITORIAL NOTES



NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The problem of the Middle East has entered a critical phase with Sadat peace initiative and his visit to Jerusalem. This visit was followed by other moves such as the Cairo preparatory conference, the meeting of both the military and political committees, the Ismailia encounter, the meeting with Carter, which was followed by special envoy Mr. Atherton touring the area. However, the situation has become a dangerous one after the present Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon.

Therefore, Sadat peace initiative has produced divergent reactions. Egypt views it as a forward step for winning the world Public opinion and the exposure of the intransigent attitude of Israel as well as, showing evidence that the Arabs are striving for peace as opposed to the Israeli military establishment which so far, has not responded to the peace initiative on the same foot.

But one of the serious reaction against such an initiative was manifested by the steady front which presented itself in both Tripoli and Algiers conferences. This front views Sadat's visit on his peace initiative as a scheme aimed for the implementation of anti Arab plans. Likewise, its aftermath is a wanton violation of the principles of national struggle against the Zionist enemy. Further it undermines the right of Arab people of Palestine and subsequently the removal of Egypt from the confrontation front against the Zionist enemy.

In contrast, the U.S.A., from her side has blessed the initiative and became the center of communication between Egypt and Israel by dispatching a permanent envoy touring the area. However, the Soviet position was a different one by describing the initiatives as a step undermining Arab solidarity and its aim is to eliminate the Soviet role in solving the problem. Further more, Sadat was accused of attempting to sign a partial agreement with Israel.

Thus, it is to be observed from the different position advocated by the Arab states that Sadat initiative has produced a big divergence about its validity in contributing a solution to the palestinian problem and the occupied Arab territories.

On the other hand, Israel is still holding its obstinate position which rejects complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands, and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people in establishing their own independent state.

But the present Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon and the obliteration of the bases of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon is an integral part of her dangerous policy for the dictation of her terms and manoeuvre against a just and lasting solution to the problem.

Hence, in scrutinizing the developments in the middle East situation, it is apparent from both the position advocated by Israel and U.S.A., about the Palestinian problem is centred on their refusal of the recognition of the PLO, which represent the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, the establishment of a Palestinian state on the occupied lands of Palestine, will only result in aggravating tension and the encouragement of Israel in her aggressive policies.

The experiences of the Arab peoples struggle emphasize the inherent danger in plotting against the Palestinian struggle for the rights of self-determination and the subsequent deployment of the big stick policy for the elimination of the Palestinian resistance, will only increase the resistance of the Palestinian people and the sabotage of all viable steps for the preservation of peace in the area.

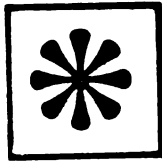
It is self-evident, that Israel knows very well the existence of a strong Palestinian National Movement will always eliminate Israeli options and as well some of the Arab options for the solution of the Palestinian problem.

Thus, her position from the question of the Palestinian people will lead to no where; but the escalation of the tension and the war condition in the area.

Consequently, in scrutinizing the different position undertaken by the Arab parties on the aforesaid issue, it is apparently clear that the dispute is not on the Arab strategy based on the necessity of Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and the just solution of the problem of the Palestinian people but is centred on the methods used for the realisation of the national objective.

Accordingly, the new situation requires fostering the struggle for Arab solidarity based on the confrontation against imperialism, zionism and endeavouring for the liberation of all occupied Arab territories. At the same time, a firm commitment is needed for fostering the capability of the Palestinian resistance movement in regaining their national rights.

The Arab options for the solution of the question of the Arab people will not succeed without active Arab solidarity under the umbrella of Arab strategy for confronting imperialism, zionism as well as standing steady against unjust solution calming methods, step by step diplomacy, is the responsibility of all Arab states.



To where the events of the Horn are heading?

Starting from the days of the Somali Government withdrawal of its supporting units for the Western Somali Liberation Fronts in the War Zones, it seems that the policies adopted by the parties concerned and the states who openly intervened in the Horn's affairs have somehow changed their respective positions.

Firstly, the Soviet Union, Cuba and other states that brought their forces to the area were acting like those who have conquered land and people by force. It looks that their decision is based on the assumption that there is no more need to consult any body about the affairs of the Horn. The best indication of this attitude could be inferred from their cooling off the necessity for an urgent consultation of this matter. All along, this has been the position of Somalia which she declared on several occasions and as it was hinted by the same above mentioned states.

Secondly America is still manifesting its policy of «Wait and see», by not having the audacity to reconcile its public pronouncement and actions.

Thirdly the Addis-Ababa regime has made the presumptuous assumption of being a powerful element which can force its solution on the ongoing events of the Horn. As a matter of fact, this regime is merely an instrument benignly used as a vehicle for implementing policies that have far reaching implications which without the least doubt are beyond his present claims. Likewise, this regime was saying yesterday that he wanted the solution of the problem of the Horn through the mechanism of peaceful negotiation. However, today he claims

that he has achieved victory (which is a matter that does not deserve a reply!!). Further, this self-conceited regime has started to employ BOMBASTIC utterance against the SDR, which is a sign that the said regime has not yet comprehended the Volcano that he and his allies are standing on.

Fourthly, the Somali Democratic Republic, has taken several consecutive steps for the maintenance of World peace and the rights of the struggling people of Western Somalia and Abbo. The latest step in this direction is her standing recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of the area for self determination, the necessity of starting negotiation for the settlement of the problem in order to avert the creation of a more aggravating situation than the present one.

Fifthly, the National Liberation Fronts, as was expected, have rejected all solutions short of their independence and have embarked on the continuation of their legitimate struggle.

Therefore, if the different positions adopted by the respective parties in the conflict are as indicated above, then some people are asking: Why Africa did not urgently intervene in the Question? and when the matter is going to end?

The absence of an urgent and effective African intervention in the Question is not based on their anxiety about border problems that might have different consequences on their inter-relationship (As we know Kenya was the only African state which expressed hostility to the aspirations of the National Liberation Movement of Western Somalia, due to its vested interest in the problem), but it is due to the fact that their eyes are focused on the diabolical system of Apartheid and the worst colonialism prevailing in Southern Africa.

Further more the majority of the African states believe that they can obtain the support of the Soviet Union and his allies in their confrontation against the racist regimes in Southern Africa. Thus, they have not dared to stand directly against the Soviet Union and its allies. However, despite the existence of this fact, there is nothing which could prevent them from taking appropriate step dealing with every grave problem facing the African continent. They are likely to be side stepped if they fail to find a viable solution for all complicated problems of Africa..... even over the question of Southern Africa. But with respect to the second question, no one has today found a precise answer for it. The states and the organizations who are expected to find a solution to the problem have not done enough. Nevertheless, two things are already clear:

1. In the past, Cuba used to say that for imperialism we have to create one, two, three Vietnams. Today she is creating for the socialist countries one, two, three, Western Somalia, which will cause a great damage to their policies, prestige and the confidence which the third World had on them.
2. The prevailence of the condition of no war no peace in the region is a dangerous one. This state of affairs will take a long time to be extinguished.

Accordingly, Somalia has shown earlier, beyond the least shadow of doubt, her good intenions and acceptance of a just and lasting solution of the present problem of the Horn. Consequently the Somali Democratic Republic is anticipating the reactions of the concerned parties in the problem or those who have openly entervened in the matter to be cognisant of the burden of the problem by urgently responding to the call of the Somali Democratic Republic, if their real intention is to find a lasting solution and understanding in the region.

Political, Social and Economic Affairs



A brief critique of economic theories of underdevelopment

M. A. Ali (Bayr)

Underdevelopment as a reflection of the perennial legacy of colonial subjugation of states and peoples in today's world is more and more drawing both political and academic interest. The interest paid to it since the 1960s is indicative of the serious effort to pinpoint its causes and consequences. To an extent it also reflects the attempt to find ways and means out of the dark tunnel to which underdevelopment, in its multi-dimensionality, has condemned a great number of countries. In the serious tackling of the issues of underdevelopment, treaties and tomes of books have been devoted to it, and a multiplicity of theories have emerged, some of which illumine our understanding whereas others only confuse and befuddle the mind. In the present articles some of these theories on underdevelopment will be set out, and in addition a critique of each will be submitted. Finally an overall assessment of underdevelopment will be offered.

1. With regard to these theories Walt Rostow's doctrine of 5 stages of economic development is one pertinent to be primarily discussed. Walt Rostow, an American economist, who seriously concerns himself with underdevelopment, set down five stages which countries go through in their economic development, and these are:

a) — The traditional society as the starting stage implies a society whose structure is developed within limited production functions, based on primitive tools;

b) — The transition period is the stage when already a process

of economic changes is taking place within the traditional economic setting but as yet the process has not gone its full course as to qualitatively and all-roundedly lead to the creations of the pre-conditions of the next stage which is the take off:

c) — The take-off stage constitutes a central theme of W. Rostow, and involves a state of affairs where the economic structure comes to acquire a new scientific and technological base thereby gaining vast potentialities for internal and dynamic generation and self-propelling force for further optimal growth. This stage entails a qualitative leap forward where the contradictions of both traditional and transition stages are wholly resolved. For Rostow this stage embodies an important function in the developmental strategy, and development is for him a matter of economic accomplishment of the take off point. Underdevelopment of Afro-Asian and Latin American continents, within the ambit of W. Rostow's doctrine is the inability of economic variables, in terms of investments, production output and their results falling miserably below the take off requirements.

d) — The maturity stage is attained when all the pre-requisites for further, and unhampered economic growth are assured. A highly scientific and technological base, with centuries of economic experience and, skilled manpower, sophisticated managerial and administrative acumen is per se a characteristic of this stage. Capital outlays, high-production output, and thereby a satisfactory per capita in

come are natural corollaries of this stage.

e) — Stage of consumer society for Rostow is symbolised by the present highly developed European, North American and Japanese societies. A rapid and an ever rising technico-scientific revolution in production, and its monumental increase are the hall marks of the consumer society. The abundance of consumer products, and their widespread utilisation thereof by all the strata of society, whose high incomes perfectly enables them to, convince Rostow to see the consumer society as the end all and be all for human society.

W. Rostow's doctrine is an unabashed bourgeois alternative to K. Marx's socio-economic formations in point of fact. W. Rostow dubs his doctrine «A non-Communist Manifesto», so as to instil in our minds how different and preferable his stages of economic growth are to Marx's socio-economic formations. The weakness of Rostow's doctrine is epitomised by the fact that it is non-historical. All that he succeeds to do is give us certain attributes and characterisation of economic growth, rather than a meaningful theoretic generalisation of economic phenomena and processes. Furthermore it is highly abstract since he applies them to all societies, irrespective of their ideological and political orientations. As a matter of principle he banishes ideological orientation and sees only the harmonious evolution of economics without any hitches and disruptions. Conse-

quent upon the above mentioned points, and a host of others, W. Rostows' doctrine is finding less and less disciples, and hence is losing intellectual and practical grip as a relevant thematic expression on underdevelopment.

2. TECHNO-ECONOMIC CRITERIA OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT.

This a theory to which a very large section of Western theoreticians on under-development subscribe to. Its fundamental principles on underdevelopment revolve around shedding light on economic growth and thereon development and technological factors contributing to within the rubric of techno-economic factors four factors are one singled out for special analysis, i.e Capital accumulation, population growth, discoveries of new resources and technological process. This theory lays emphasis on the interrelationship between these four factors in the context of an optimal economic conditions.

Following from this the theory goes to further enlighten us on qualitative economic categories, such as the relationship between national output, national income and their mutual transformation. It further addresses itself to the level of capital accumulation and how capital accumulation is intimately affected by the propensities to consume or save. Over and above this, or as a natural corollary it comprehensively deals with per capita income of the population, and it closely relates this to the chances of prospective economic growth, or its decline.

As an illustration of how the theory deals with underdevelopment it is necessary to take a crucial aspect of its theoretical underpinnings, i.e the relationship between net savings and net investment, as emanating from the level of incomes. In underdeveloped countries the theory categorically

states that the low level of incomes, perforce dries up the chances of high saving capacity and naturally reduces favourable chances of high investment. The contrary is the case in advanced countries i.e high incomes favourably act to insure high saving capacity, thereunder furnishing high investment potentialities, which in turn favourably acts upon increased economic expansion. In other words capital accumulation is high, and as such it insure advanced development. This techno-economic theory further elaborates on the economic categories hitherto mentioned for instance by concentrating on the nature of population growth, and the attributes of technological growth which lies in its rate of growth, rather than in its abundant availability.

A Critique of this theory will appear in the more substantive overall critique of bourgeois theories of economic underdevelopment.

Meanwhile suffice to say that the theory assembles axiomatic truths, clearly apparent even to the uneducated but commonsensical mind, and attempts to launch them as a generalised theoretic standpoint. Doubtlessly this assemblage of objective facts of economic growth cannot stand up as a theory of development in its own right. Obviously they can supplement a another theoretical framework but they cannot lend themselves as the foundations of a theory standing on such shaky premisses

3. Non-economic Criteria of underdevelopment:-

This theory acts as a scaffolding for numerous factors congregating around demographic explosion, demographic determinism, and certain human factors which bourgeois theoretician maintain to militate against socio-economic development. Academic theoreticians of neo-Malthusian persuasion, J. Shumpeter, E. Gannage, A. Lewis, R. Nurkse and H

Schatz, mainly American Economists are strong proponents and champions of this multi-headed theoretical viewpoint.

Demographic explosion and demographic determinism bases its argument on the adverse role which rapid population growth plays in economic development. By proceeding from the high role of birth in various third world countries, and also the observable decreasing mortality rates, hinging on improved medical care, these theoreticians seize on them so as to explain the negative development realities prevalent in third world countries. The demographic factors as far as they touch on underdevelopment are but a continuation of Malthusian ideas in a new form. Zero population growth, strict family planning, and conducive social conditions to bring about these, are put up as palliatives curing economic underdevelopment.

There is no reason to exhaustively deal with geographic determinism, which in short assert that underdevelopment naturally characterises countries of extreme cold and hot climate.

The logical basis of this theory is that only countries of temperate climate, with rich soil, satisfy the natural and human requisites for rapid economic development. Henceforth European, N. American and Japanese rapid development is explained solely from this geographical angle.

The human factor's school, of which academician J. Shumpleter is an exemplary representative is gaining momentum, and wide recognition amongst European theoreticians. It lays major emphasis on enterprenurial acumen as the road to socio-economic development.

The lack of enterprenurial acumen and skills, the dearth of business and managerial personal, and the primitiveness of managerial tech-

niques acts as a rich material for some theoreticians to decry the lack of economic transformation in third world countries. In totality, as these theoreticians insist the whole social environment of Asian, African and Latin American countries, to varying degrees, does not easily commend itself to the generation of the untapped and infinite potentialities that enterprenurial possibilities for development makes imperative.

A brief critique of these non-economic criteria of economic growth draws its inspiration from the incontrovertible judgement of practical life, that is real human experience proves that neither geographic factors, nor demographic and human variables can be used as convincing argument to explain the objective constraints to development. Life has time and again asserted the truth that countries of diverse geographic conditions, population-structures and variegated cultural background have developed not withstanding their peculiar differences. All these go to consolidate the idea that the sources of development, and its scope, range and nature reside outside the above conceptual framework.

4. Criteria of Structural nature:-

This theory turns upon certain observable tendencies in underdeveloped countries, i.e the dual sectoral nature of their economies and thereunder the dual technological bases subsisting within such economies.

A modern and traditional sectors, using modern and traditional technologies and scientific methods is more often than not delineatable in third world countries. This objective appraisal of reality is further related to the dependent relationship between the metropole, and periphery which inescapably engenders what J.H. Boeke, a Netherland economist terms a sociological dualism.

In real terms this theory distinctly brings out the tensions to which a neo-colonial legacy subjects underdeveloped economies to. The contradictions between the natural economic sector, geared to bare subsistence, chiefly non-monetized where social production is weefully low is counterposed to the highly capitalistic modern sector which is by and large European, export-oriented and in great measure non-harmoniously linked with the natural traditional sector. This gulf between the two sectors inevitably breeds a non-integrated economic structure, and logically gives birth to the problem of economic enclavism, mono-culturism or the lack of diversification in products. Further as a natural corollary of this, there emerges a lopsided economic structure, which develops rapidly in some areas, whereas other highly essential fields remain sadly backward.

The theory of structural criteria appositely singles out certain economic conundrums of a non-developed economy enlightening us on some factors that deepen this underdevelopment. The lack of harmony between the two sectors and the difficulties encountered in their mutual organic transformation obviously hinders underdevelopment. But the truth, as the Algerian economist A. Cournail strongly states these structural criteria do not satisfy the requirements of a watertight theoretic insight into underdevelopment. This so-called theory addresses itself mainly to structural phenomena rather than the substantive issues that impinge on the crisis-ridden and highly complex topic of development. The causes underlying economic development are much deep-rooted and complex than the superficially attractive but theoretically barren structural criterion that briefly has been dealt with.

5. International criterion of underdevelopment:-

The theory of telescoping underdevelopment on variables closely related to the international division of labour, i.e the classical theory of international exchanges, and the negative phenomena emanating from it is obviously productive and apt. By utilising the marshalled techno-economic data, trends in world trade, correlation between prices of raw materials and industrial goods movement of capital between developed and developing countries etc, we help ourselves in singling out key factors contributing to underdevelopment.

Notwithstanding this theoretical classification, further analytical advance on underdevelopment need to be dealt with. That is to streamline and delve deeper into the causal and consequential relationship of the origin of underdevelopment which is mainly ignored by bourgeois theoreticians on underdevelopment. This is invariably tied to the bourgeois academicians prejudice to question the essence of the capitalist mode of production in being in any way to blame the quagmire that is underdevelopment. Accordingly the following 5 points are offered to give us a whole and dynamic picture of underdevelopment.

I. Underdevelopment is characteristic of a group of countries and emerged at a certain stage of human development. In principle this point highlights the intimate correlation between underdevelopment and the emergence of world capitalism, which eventually and organically developed into world imperialism, contributing to rapid development of some countries and the collateral underdevelopment of others. The evolution of capitalism, and the working out of its intrinsic contradictions therefore ought to feature prominently in our conceptual analysis of underdevelopment. This fact is either brushed aside by most theoreticians whose theories have been singled out, or at best the link between ca-

pitalism and underdevelopment are weakly expressed.

II. Underdevelopment does not stem from the lack of generating internal impulses of development. This point goes to invalidate the human and geographic criterion which is above set out. Human and geographic conditions, however adverse they can be acted upon and transformed by conscious human planning insofar the laws and processes of economic development are clearly understood and mastered by man. It is not due to internal impulses of development which are lacking but the incapacity to harness the abundant potentialities for development which is both subjective and objective factors ideologically rooted in the relationship of dominance and subordination subsisting in our world, Torpedo to nature.

III. The qualitative underpinnings of underdevelopment revolves around the serious steps incumbent to be taken in the effort to eliminate the vicious entanglement of underdevelopment contrary to the prognosis of bourgeois theories on economic growth. A crucial tackling of underdevelopment necessitates both structural and substantive transformations within a socio-economic reality seriously committed to defeat underdevelopment. Unlike the tame prescriptions of sociologically modernist theories recommending mere tampering with the structural nature of development, a qualitative approach sets before us a holistic. Task turning on qualitative changes leap-like in their objective and

goal implementation, and the setting of new social relations dependent on newly consolidated economic interrelations the world over. indubitably this calls for a new correlation of class forces, alliances and relations. It implies an ideological choice springing from the well-tested rivalry between the polar opposite socialist and capitalist system, with their concomitant theoretical and practical attitudes to development.

IV. Overcoming underdevelopment has greater qualitative meaning than is contained in the mere transition from a traditional economy to the industrial revolution, as is expressed by W. Rostows doctrine. Putting the issue in this light is an unforgivable oversimplification and has the unwitting effect of mistaking form for substance. Needless to say if we proceed on these grounds we only observe the simple quantitative coefficients of economic life, and not the qualitative transformations which economic growth is periodically made susceptible to by virtue of necessary internal contradictions contained in the very process of economic categories. As a vivid illustration the emergence of monopolistic capitalism, Viz imperialism from the very womb of individually owned and competitive capitalism of the earlier 19th century was a qualitative change and only solely a quantitative change resting on greater centralisation and expanding concentration. The birth of the socialist economic system from the exploitive system of capitalism is historically a deep going qualitative

leap which ushers a new era in human development.

V. The scientific and technological revolution, which is increasingly becoming a vital factor in modern production, within the context of economic underdevelopment ends up in a perverted form concerning the agrarian-industrial nexus, and vice versa. Instead of the scientific and technological revolution hastening the process of organic unity between the agrarian-industrial sectors, a sectoral chasm objectively determined crops up henceforth resulting in negative effects of further strengthening underdevelopment. It is not that the dual sectors, and the contradictions existing between them are naturally inevitable, as the sociological dualistic theory apparently believes it is only that the inner logic of capitalist economic integument makes this an absolute law of underdevelopment.

In conclusion, of course, honest admission as to the brevity of my analysis of bourgeois theories on economic growth, has to be proffered. But crucial importance of this topic lies in its relevance to our day to day lives, as we confront a host of developmental problems which make systematic analysis an objective necessity. Our era is characterised by the tireless search for ways out from the stifling birth pangs of the capitalist legacy of underdevelopment. In this search there is bound to be a fierce theoretical struggle, and the multiplicity of bourgeois theories are an attempt to obfuscate the clearcut issues that developmental strategy along socialist lines makes historically compelling to enjoy paractical effectuation.

PARTY LIFE



Official statement by The CC of the SRSP

The CC of the SRSP met in extra-ordinary session from 8th to 9th Feb. 78 and on top of the agenda was an exhaustive discussion concerning the daily deteriorating situation in the Horn, which more and more calls for a permanent and just solution in this region. This meeting became indispensable following the escalating destruction and loss of life rendered by colonialism and the illegitimate foreign intervention meant to exterminate the people of the region who are engaged in the just struggle for de-colonisation. Such destructive acts also endangered the sovereignty of several states as well as the stability of world peace.

The decisions reached in this session have been released in an official statement, comprising the following measures:-

The SDR has for many times warned against the intervention of foreign forces in the conflict of the Horn of Africa which results from peoples struggling to free themselves from Abyssinian colonialism. It has become evident that Russia, Cuba and other countries have now involved themselves up to a level where they have completely taken over the war operation.

The Russian, Cuban and other allied forces have now resorted to conduct mass massacres of the Somali people in the area and their air force has carried out constant raids against

towns and civilian centres in the SDR.

The Somali Government is alarmed at the Russian intervention in the African affairs in particular the Horn of African conflict. The actions of the Russian government are endangering the very existence of the SDR and in addition is further aggravating the situation, a solution for which might have been worked out.

This forces the Somali Government to review its relations with Russia and other countries. The Somali Government is also astonished at the stand taken by the Western countries in the face of this blatant Russian-Cuban military intervention which contravenes all recognized international charters.

It is evident that some of the big powers, notably the Soviet Union, are further aggravating the situation in the Horn rather than meeting their responsibility towards safeguarding world peace.

It is evident that if other countries who have responsibility over securing world peace do not counter this violation and aggression, then world peace will be in danger by the internationalization of the conflict.

This grave crisis has led the SDR to defend itself against this naked aggression and to increase its assistance to the liberation forces by dispatching units of its own armed forces

to aid the liberation forces.

The SDR believed that the Horn of African conflict was of a regional nature for which an easy solution could have been found were it not for the intervention of foreign forces.

The SDR, having now studied closely the new situation which has developed and taken note of the call of other peace-loving countries and organization, does not oppose any steps leading to a long lasting peace in the Horn. Such steps could be:

1. A cease-fire so as to stop the bloodshed.
2. The withdrawal of foreign troops from the region and the working out of means to ascertain this.
3. A clear solution to the problem of the rights of the peoples struggling for self-determination and independence from the Addis regime, which is bent on their annihilation in the collaboration of foreign forces.

This attitude of the Somali Government towards working for peace in no way prevents it to defend the sovereignty and existence of the Somali nation.

And hence makes her inevitable to take the following actions:

1. The institution of a state of emergency for the defence of its unity and national existence.

In order to realize this objective, every Somali is called upon to consider himself-herself part of this general mobilization and efforts towards national defence.

a) All retired and seconded army service men are to report themselves to the defence Ministry.

b) The national defence duty calls for the enlistment of volunteers, who are requested to report themselves at centres established by the Defence Ministry for the purpose.

3. The workers, Civil Servants, administrative organs of the government and the public

are called upon to redouble their efforts as they have done before when the nation was confronted with hard times.

It is a certainty that the Somali people through hard work gallantry, patriotism and dedication will surmount this hard and trying times.

Gathering at the National Theatre

The period from the 18th to the 23rd of February represented the busiest and most fervent days of the history of Mogadishu's National Theatre. Patriotic and nationalistic atmosphere pervaded the theatre and imparted utmost happiness to compatriots while shaking foes.

Every night one of the social organizations, rallied against the enemies by holding a historical and memorable meeting. The first night saw party and Government functionaries of Benadir's 14 districts, organisations in the theatre.

These were followed by the secretariat of the national defence committee from the national to departmental level congregating there the second night while the third night witnessed artistic groups, and all mass media sessions. On the fourth vigilant worker's committees and heads of Government bodies held their meeting there.

These series of meetings were finally brought to a close on the fifth night by the coming together of university and secondary schools Student's committees, deans of the various faculties of the national university, school headmasters and lecturers of the national university. In general it was the meeting

of education institutions and the student body of the nation.

The meeting proceeded in such a warm and nationally inspiring spirit as each social group fully expressed their role in the new historical juncture and circumstances that the country is experiencing. High ranking party and Government's officials also participated in those meetings by giving valuable guidelines and directives to the participants as was best expressed by the General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre's speech on 21st Feb. 1978.

It is worth mentioning here the very significant role played by the Somali artistic groups. During those meeting days our artistic groups occupied a place of pride and acted with the help of their songs as a vanguard

force in our stiff resistance to the enemies. The national artistic groups in their musical displays and entertainment alternated, each group participating in a night's functional programme, some of the meetings proceeded well past midnight and reached such late hours as 2 a. m. in the morning without ever becoming boring.

This could best be attributed not only to the nationalistic spirit but also to the moving entertainment of the artistic groups in the nation's mobilisation scheme.

The artist groups proved that the theatre was not a place only to pass the time and social entertainments but also a place where whole armies and volunteers sacrificing everything for the national cause could be harnessed for the sacred cause of the country's defence.

Mass Support for the decision of the Central Committee of the S.R.S.P.

The Somali people staged a mass rally to support the valiant decision of the central Committee of the SRSP in their meeting from 8th-9th February. In the rally they proved that they are fully supporting the decision reached by their party

and their readiness in defending their country as has always been the case.

In all the regions and districts of the Republic, the Somali masses participated in rallies. They manifested their nationalistic attitude in slogans and

placards which they were carrying.

Hundred and thousands of the Somali masses from the 14 districts of the Banadir region met at the Dervish Park in Mogadishu on 21st February. Any one who went to the Dervish Park on that day would have realized that the Somali people are ready to defend their country and sovereignty. He could also would have understood that the Somali people are united around their party and the Social organisations.

In the rally, the Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, the president

of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre delivered a speech that evening.

The President declared that, the valiant struggle and unity of the Somali masses has insured the throwing out of the former colonialists and the same fate awaits the present colonialists and henchmen; and the victory is certainly ours.

«The Ethiopian colonialists, Russians and Cuban who are supporting the continuation of Abyssinian enslavement are the ones who are going to leave Western Somalia and not the indigenous population who are fighting for their rights to self-

determination», declared Jaalle Siad.

The President of S.D.R. encouraged the Somali masses that they should be ready to defend their country and people «Every Somali should be ready to defend his country and, simultaneously increase production in order to prove the pride in our national entity.

The Secretary General's speech was often interupted by applause amongst the audience promising to sacrifice their lives and property in defending their mother land and in support of their brothers who are fighting for their freedom.

THE SOMALI PEOPLE HAVE SOWN



Since Russia and its satellites have launched their sinister campaign to reinstitute colonialism in Somalia, the nationalistic spirit of the Somali people has been soaring in accordance with their traditional bravery and heroism.

The last week of February, 1978, witnessed mass parades

all over the country reflecting a new phase of Somalia's struggle against colonialism.

The general federation of Somali trade unions organised the first of such mass parades on the 25th of February this year—thousands of workers showing nationalistic fervour and solid unity which looked very diffi-

cult to break or weaken, paraded on foot through the main roads of Mogadishu and finally stopped at the Unknown Soldier's Monument square which eventually became the final meeting place of all after parading forces and where each declared its determined will and allegiance to defend the nation's integrity, sovereignty and dignity.

Here every social group read its pledge to volunteer and sacrifice the last drop of its blood for the defence of the mother land, following the example of its forefathers which the unknown soldier monument exemplified.

Nobody thought that one social group could organize such a really huge parade but the Somali Women's Democratic organization did make a spectacular one. On the 27th of February, tens of thousands of Mogadishu's Women took to the main streets of Mogadishu.

All doubts on the strength of the Somali Women's Democratic Organization were dispelled and in its palace deep and glowing respect for their patriotic enthusiasm was kindled.

On March 1st, 1978, the Somali Revolutionary youth union its turn paraded and looked as if saying «we are capable of countering the enemy alone.

All others should stay out, «the youth paraded included students, working youth, SRYU members of Banadir's 14 districts the pioneers of the revolution.

With their traditional favour and of the country the youth came out from every quarter of Mogadishu at 3 P.M. and at the unknown soldier monument square.

The two and twenty thousand (220.000) of Somalia's youth participated in that parade.

Apart from the placards they carried, they also brandished the traditional fighting gear (Swords, Spears, ets) and modern weaponry and in this way demonstrated their will to defend the motherland with everything their disposal.

They also carried production tools including hammers, hoes; spades etc demonstrating their preparedness to fight for increased production to stave off hunger.

The youth also chanted their traditional motto of «production, Education and defence of the motherland».

Some of the leaders of the country participated with the youth and among them were vice-

president Hussein Kulmie Afrah the chairman of the SRSP Central Committee Organization Bureau, Jaalle Abdulkadir Haji Mohamed and the Regional par-

ty-Secretary of Benadir, Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim «Abuuraas» chairman of social Organizations and other Officials.

SOMALI PEOPLES PATRIOTISM

Courage is the unique characteristic of the Somali nation as proved in all historical de-colonisation struggles. For a long time this valiant nation was agonized by the suffering that still some of their brothers experienced under colonialism and subjugation. Now intense feelings heightened by spirit of retaliation against the foreign intervention aligned with colonialism and meant to exterminate their fellow brothers and sister was the natural response of the SRSP Secretary Generale's speech on 12/2/78. The speech called for intensified defense of the fatherland and increased support to the liberation movements. The move was welcomed by every individual young and old who was motivated by the inherent national sentiment and patriotic feelings. All expressed their willingness to sacrifice life and extend all required moral and material support to their brothers in the sacred struggle of de-colonization.

The whole Somali Nation shared such feelings and expressed it by chanting incessant support-messages, organizing demonstrations, and requesting their authorities to arrange their lieutenant dispatchmen into the battle fields.

The mobilization Bureau immediately responded to the rising tide national patriotism by issuing a circular on 17/2/78 concerning the arrangement of preparatory tasks for the people and social organisations. For immediate and total mobilisation.

The preparatory programme included:

- 1) Preliminary gatherings at the National Theatre;
- 2) Enlistment of volunteers;
- 3) Organisation of demonstration by the social Unions.

The programme was designed to last for two weeks. During this period the whole Somali society splendidly evinced their true feeling and undiluted patriotic sentiments reached its peak.

WORLD AFFAIRS



Zimbabwe: The Internal Settlement and the Position of the Patriotic Front

by : BOOBE



This picture is reproduced from the magazine of «The Zimbabwe Review».

Africa's liberation movements are not isolated from the international proletarian movement. It was certain the MPLA and FRELIMO wrested their independence and freedom from the Portuguese colonialists; the Democratic Revolution in Portugal only hastened the downfall of Portuguese colonialism. The MPLA and FRELIMO very soon established democratic Governments in Angola and Mozambique guided by socialist ideology. The independence of Angola and Mozambique further strengthened the liberation movements in that region. The two Governments, exploiting their experience during their liberation struggles brought together five African countries bordering Racist South Africa and Rhodesia. The collusion of those Government was a further step towards the strengthening of liberation movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

This forced the Vorster regime of racist South Africa to abandon its offensive and resort to new defensive tactics because it has realized that the next target would be South Africa. Western Countries are now in full accord that the Rhodesian regime should be changed and their only problem now is how to establish a black regime which fulfills their imperialistic economic interests.

As the fighting and struggle of the liberation movements intensified, the former US secretary of State, Henry Kissinger launched a campaign of talks and negotiation to settle the Rhodesian conflict. This manoeuvre did not attract Afri-

can, peoples enthusiasm. Following Kissinger's move, the British and US Governments deployed plans to enable black people to participate in the Rhodesian Government. The Anglo-American plan was jointly formulated by the British Foreign Secretary, David Owen and the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young.

This Anglo-American plan completely disregarded the rights of the black people of Zimbabwe; it was already certain that the fathers of imperialism would not act contrary to their own interests.

A close examination of the plan would uncover many of its defects. At first sight, one would realize the big role the British Government intends to play in the transfer of po-

wer to the black people. It named lord Carver who was given full powers to rule the country during the transitional period. The Zimbabwe liberation movements, however found this very unsatisfactory, because to them there is no difference between lord Carver and Ian Smith. It is beyond shadow of doubt that a Government set up by lord Carver would only serve international capitalism and it is impossible for him to establish a just Government, equal in the eyes of the people and serving the interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Patriotic Front did not only refused to respect the powers laid upon Lord Carver but also refused to accept other clauses of the Anglo-American plan including that which calls a United Nations force to maintain peace and security in Zimbabwe during the transitional period. The clause only helped to remind the patriotic front of what had happened in the Congo and the assassination of the hero of the Congolese people Patrice Lumumba.

The Anglo-American plan also included a clause which said that the whites who are expected to leave their properties should be given a 1.5. billion dollars compensation. But the question is how would the white soldiers, who were massacring the black masses only yesterday, live in a human and decent manner with the blacks? How could an Englishman who has taken the seat of Smith bring about fruitful reform? As such, the Anglo-American plan did not satisfy all freedom and justice loving peoples. Even Smith had rejected it from the start.

Ian Smith with the full support of International Capitalism launched a campaign to formulate an «Internal settlement» with some black leaders who could not face up to the bitter and long struggle against the Racist regime. After two months of talks, Ian Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau came up with a so-called agreement which could not be recognized by the progressive forces of the world.

The so-called agreement provides for a parliament of 100 members of which 72 are blacks and the remaining 28 are whites. The so-called agreement goes on to say that the white members of parliament would be elected by the white people only. Ian Smith even ascertained that the constitution of the country which only serves white's interests should not be changed. Any amendment to the constitution can only be effected by the whole 72 members of Parliament and 6 whites, according to the so-called internal settlement. This so-called agreement further mistreats the Zimbabwe people who have been struggling for a long period for their basic rights.

Nobody has so far accepted this so-called agreement, even though the British foreign Secretary, David Owen has declared that he could neither reject nor accept it.

The Patriotic Front and the African countries bordering Racist would not recognize the so-called agreement and any Government



established in Rhodesia which does not serve the interests of the Zimbabwe people.

The Patriotic Front has now a force of 17,000 soldiers of which 5,000 are now inside Rhodesia and for certain the so-called agreement would not be implemented so long as the patriotic Front wages its armed struggle, or so long as it is not allowed to participate in the solution of the Zimbabwe problems. It is again clear that all freedom and peace-loving peoples will not support the so-called agreement but will, on the contrary, intensify their support for the Patriotic Front.

The Zimbabwe problem has been taken to the United Nation's Security Council which was also attended by the leaders of the Patriotic Front. When the Zimbabwe problems was studied and examined by the United Nation's Security Council, particularly the so-called agreement signed by Ian Smith and the reactionary black leaders, it decided that the agreement was illegal and unacceptable to the international community. During the voting the Western governments have abstained. This abstention on their part further proves their support for the Smith regime.

Final victory belongs to the Patriotic Front which is supported by the front-line countries, the rest of the African and the progressive world.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



PRESIDENT SIAD BRIEFS THE PRESS



Jaalle Siad in a press conference

The president of the SDR J/le Mohamed Siad Barre, held a press conference at SRSP Headquarters on the 21st February for a visiting group of journalists as well as the national press.

The president outlined the historical background of the long struggle of the Western Somalis and stated that the Abyssinians were given the territory as a share when colonialists were partitioning the African continent among themselves in the 19th Century. He said the Abyssinians used to come there only to loot and exploit the people. «Right from the start of the Abyssinian occupation, the Western Somalis continued their incessant struggle for their survival and independence», the president said. Answering a question on Russo-Cuban and Abyssinian allies' preparation to attack Somalia, he said that the Russian's aim is to occupy Berbera, Hargeisa and other strategic areas, but he added that the SDR is fully prepared for it.

tegic areas, but he added that the SDR is fully prepared for it.

In answering a question on whether Somalia received arms from outside, J/le Siad declared that Somalia appealed to the West and other friendly countries for arms for defensive purposes but nothing was received so far. The president said the Somali Democratic Republic requires an equal number of weapons as its enemy. «We know the huge armaments poured into Ethiopia both in quantity and quality which, as I have already underlined, are unnecessary, since no country in Africa and the Middle East or nearby area has that kind of weapons. So if any country wishes to help us, we would like arms equal in quantity and quality», he declared, adding that Somalia having opted for its sovereignty, the Russians are determined to see Somalia punished. «Somalia will use all means at its disposal

to defend its sovereignty and national dignity» declared president Siad.

A questioner asked whether there were fresh proposals by African leaders, and the President replied that Somalia welcomes such peace initiatives provided it is based on justice, adding that the SDR and the freedom fighters are well disposed to mediation, because, he said, that no reasonable man would like to continue fighting where logic could overcome certain situation. «We are for peace», he declared, adding, «this is not due to our weakness, but it is desire for peace, because we believe that peace is for the interest of all». As I said on many occasions, freedom fighters were engaged in incessant war for their freedom, although they were ignored by the world. Unfortunately we in the SDR are also affected, because we are continuously bombarded by Aby-

ssinian and other foreign forces. So any honourable solution is welcome», president Siad stressed.

Answering questions on boundaries, Jaalle Siad said: «You cannot talk about international

boundaries. It is a colonial map and it is the duty of every honest person to look back into history for the reality of the situation in the region» he declared, and added «those who are fighting are those who are colonized and the only solution is to

grant their independence.» Answering another question Jaalle Siad disclosed that there is a large number of refugees who fled from Abyssinia into the Somali Democratic and it is naturally a heavy burden on the country's economy.

GARBA MEETS JAALLE SIAD

An OAU mediation Committee delegation headed by Nigerian Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Brig.-General Joseph Garba wound-up a 24 hours visit to Somalia on the 8th of February.

Answering a reporter's question on the intervention of foreign powers in the Horn of African conflict, Mr. Garba said that foreign powers should stop meddling in African affairs and called on African States to settle their disputes in a brotherly African spirit, adding that the OAU has proposed a ceasefire followed by a negotiated settlement to the Horn conflict. Mr. Garba said it was a grave mistake and an unwarranted step on the part of the OAU secretariat to give un-called for pronouncements relating to the Horn of African Issues. «The Horn of African conflict is an issue demanding deep consideration and peaceful solution», he said. Shortly afterwards Brig. Garba called on the President of the sdr Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and delivered him a message from the chairman of the 8-member good offices Committee of the OAU, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria. Brig. Garba had extensive discussions with Jaalle Siad on the role of the OAU, and particularly the role the 8-member good offices Committee can play at this stage in achieving a negotiated peaceful settlement to the conflict.

Jaalle Siad expressed grave concern over the growing dan-

ger of the direct interference and involvement of Russia, Cuba and others in the current conflict. He said that the assumption of combat roles by the Russians, Cubans and others who have had completely taken over the responsibility for the execution of the Abyssinian aggressive war against the liberation movements constituted highly dangerous development by complicating the issue and seriously undermining any future peaceful efforts.

Jaalle Siad pointed out that apart from the current threat posed by Russia to peace in the Region and the whole continent of Africa, it also poses a serious challenge to the OAU since it will limit the independent action of the African leaders to solve their own problems.

President Siad emphasised the need to end this foreign interference and involvement in African's affairs for the enhancement of the possibilities for peace.

He further stressed that the Horn of Africa issue is complex one requiring a thorough study by Africa. «It involves the just aspirations of the Somali and Abbo peoples who are under the Abyssinian colonial rule» Jaalle Siad explained to the envoy. He told the envoy that their national aspirations cannot be sacrificed for the sake of the Abyssinian regime or selfish interests of a big power.

He reaffirmed Somalia's support for the OAU good offices Committee and its search for peace in the Region and assured the envoy of Somalia's full cooperation in its efforts to achieve a just and peaceful settlement to the problem.

The Envoy fully appreciated the Somali point of view which he said addressed itself to the core of the problem in a profound and detailed manner and promised that Nigeria in its capacity as chairman will actively pursue the task entrusted to the committee in the interest of all concerned.

The fundamental of peaceful solution

The Ad-interim Minister of Information, Jaalle Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein on the 23rd of February gave at the Ministry of Information headquarters the following press statement.

Since the occupation of the territory- by Abyssinian expansionist colonialists, the Western Somalis and Abbo (like the Af-

fars and Eritreans)- have been engaged in a bitter struggle for their legitimate rights for national independence and freedom. In the course of this noble struggle these peoples have been subjected to untold sufferings, miseries, tortures, displacements and denial of all basic human rights and dignity by

the successive Abyssinian regimes. In fact, these peoples were always subjected to the worst forms of colonialism; a military occupation. That is the very reason why the peoples of Western Somalia have been waging their long struggle for their liberation.

However, the SDR has, on many occasions, made sincere efforts to help in finding a peaceful solution to these problems and called for the attention of Africa and the international community in order to avoid further bloodshed and escalation of the conflict. Unfortunately, Ethiopia always opposed all initiatives of peaceful solution to the problem and insisted the continuation of its subjugation policy.

At the same time it has succeeded in masking the nature of the problem and the current armed struggle from the outside world with the help of some interested powers who distorted the whole issue and presented the problem, which was between the colonised peoples and the colonisers, as a border dispute between Somalia and Abyssinia.

But the hard fact is that the problem is one of colonial nature as is evidenced by the fact that the liberation forces have waged a liberation war, liberating the bulk of their territories and are engaged in the construction and administration of these liberated areas, while at the same time continuing their armed struggle to liberate the remaining portions. As a result of these successes scored by the liberation forces, the Abyssinian colonialists, Russia, Cuba and their allied forces are engaged in an effort to contain and smash the liberation front and threaten the very existence of the Somali Democratic Republic.

On the other hand, some Western countries, specially the



Ismael Abdisalan Sheekh Husein addressing news reporters, from abroad agencies.

United States, called recently for withdrawal of non-existing Somali regular forces and to take the matter to the United Nations Security Council in order to legitimise Ethiopia's re-occupation of the liberated Western Somalia. To make matter worse the United States has recently decided to resupply Abyssinia with military equipment and spare parts as if the excessive and sophisticated Russian weapons were not sufficient to achieve their sinister objectives. In return, they claim to have obtained assurances from the Soviet Union that the allied forces would not cross the provisional border which is a clear indication of mutual consent by the super-powers to interfere in purely African problems, wresting the matter from Africa which was trying to find a peaceful solution. This is tantamount to winding the clock of history one century back to the time when Africa was divided against the will of its people without taking into consideration that Africa can now solve its own problems. This will certainly internationalize and torpedo any peaceful solution. This new attitude of the United States and some

other Western countries will only frustrate African peace efforts and undermine the will and aspirations of the people concerned. The SDR is astonished at the ambiguous and contradictory policy of the Carter Administration. At first, president Carter stated that the U.S. would extend aid to Somalia to balance Russian, Cuban allied military supplies to Abyssinia, even though he consented to Israeli supply of arms and military equipment to Abyssinia. Next, he said that the United States would not supply arms to either Somalia nor Abyssinia as long as the conflict in the region continued. And now, the United States of America is sending military consignment to Abyssinia.

The SDR is convinced that pouring more weapons into Abyssinia would only prolong the conflict and would complicate the difficult task of finding of final solution to the problem. Furthermore it is confident that the liberation fronts would be able to continue their armed struggle until they achieve complete liberation of their lands and people. It is sure that Soma-

lia would repulse any attempted invasion.

The SDR therefore, rejects all attempts to solve the conflict in the Horn of Africa which

do not recognize the fundamental issues involved, based on the following measures;

- 1). Immediate ceasefire.
- 2). Withdrawal of external forces.

ces.

3). Negotiation through the OAU and

4). Respect for the right of peoples to self-determination.

BRITISH MPs VISIT SOMALIA

A British Parliamentary delegation led by Mr. Julian Amery concluded their visit to Somalia on the final day of February.

Mr. Julian Amery told reporters that he admired Somalia's stiff resistance to the imperialist policies of Russia, Cuba and their allies in the Horn of Africa. «We do not regard your struggle as a struggle between you and Abyssinia, we regard it as a struggle between Somalia and Russian imperialists — a new imperialism much more repressive, much less productive and much less creative than the old imperialism, concerned only with establishing Russian hegemony in the Horn of Africa», he said and continued «we regard this Russian aggression as a danger not only to Somalia but is could also have very serious consequences for the whole of industrial Europe and the world at large. Therefore, we feel a great solidarity with you in your just struggle».

Mr. Winston Churchill, British MP and a member of the delegation disclosed that his country was deeply concerned at the massive build-up of Russian military power in the Horn of Africa by which it intends to invade the SDR and declared that Somalia as a third world country, cannot face alone the armed might of Russia and its allies. Mr. Churchill added that the dangerous situation in the Horn of Africa threatens the whole world because, he said, the Russian imposition of a new colonial status on Abyssinia, Somalia and other countries by force will threaten the values

of freedom and independence. He called on the Western European countries to reconsider their old position and to recognize not only their interest but also their duties and obligations towards third world countries to enable them to lead their existence independently and not under this intolerable Russian military pressure. «European colonialists did not leave Africa and other parts of the world so

that they could fall into the hands of a new tyranny which is what is happening today in the Horn of Africa» Mr. Churchill concluded.

The British MPs expressed their appreciation of the unity and patriotism of the Somali people under the current difficult circumstances and pointed out that the Somali people will ultimately merge victorious.

YUGOSLAV DELEGATION DEPARTS



The Yugoslav delegation headed by the Minister of Agriculture Mr. Ivo Kustrak concluded a three day official visit to the SDR on the 5th of February.

During their stay in Somalia, the delegation had concluded talks with Somali government officials on bilateral economic, technical and scientific co-operation.

An agreement was signed at Uruba Hotel between the SDR

and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which provides for bilateral co-operation in the development of livestock, fisheries, industry, trade, agriculture, marine transport and veterinary Research.

Under this agreement the Yugoslav government will grant an eighteen million shilling loan for the expansion of the Mogadishu Tannery.

CULTURE AND ARTS



Mass culture and the Somali personality: Environment and its people

By Rashid Sh. Abdillahi

If Somali people's experience and socio-historical life has any singular variable to show it well and vividly, folklore must occupy a prominent and enviable place.

Somali culture and social heritage, particularly its spiritual part is largely constituted of folklore.

It is fact that integrated literary, specially poetry was conceptually developed by individual contributions and therefore left us a sizeable and meaningful legacy.

The folklore we are directing our minds to is the literary part which contains the recited poetic lines and spoken prose, the poetic lines related to the labour songs (Harvesting, watering and rearing livestock) etc. and play songs. As for the prose division it relates to rhythmic expressions such as proverbs and epic stories.

As an integral aspect of folklore, which is excluded from our survey, though it deserves special analyses, is mass music and folk dances. These are excluded from our present study because folk literature is more expressive and directly touches the sensations and perception of the man.

To specify our usage of the word folklore and distinguish it from the firm mass literature we will use it to mean mass artistic culture in its entirety. But since we are dealing here with latter only we will use mostly the firm «mass literature». Taking a bird's eye view of Somali literary culture its originality and puritanical nature becomes apparent.

By purity we do not imply that that no force of external culture has influenced it. In fact generally Somali artistic culture, and particularly the field we are presently discussing, has eternal admixture and blending. Notwithstanding this, Somali mass culture has inner capacity to absorb and internalise external influences, assimilating it to suit its spiritual make up.

Foreign cultural elements entering somali social life has gone through a natural metamorphosis, and in the process has synchronised with ours. With somali environmental conditions which give rise to the Somali cultural setting internal cultural influences have been marvelously coped with at all times which succeed to give foreign cultural extractions an indigenous colouring taste.

All these go to testify to the content, deeprootedness of Somali culture, which otherwise would have failed to cope with, and additionally to assimilate externally imported cultural elements. This assimilative reality is made manifest by the folklore legends such as Abu Nawas, and others, whose roots specifically point to be imported from outside. However such stories in the transformations they go through show the infinite ability of our cultural background to harmonise it with the local cultural perspective.

The inherent originality apparent in Somali folklore emanates from the specificity of the historical experiences which the society traversed, the historical stages it has pas-

sed and the environmental conditions surrounding it, these are moulded by the process of historical trials and experiences.

From this we can clearly deduce the specificity of our Somali nation's culture and civilisation, but the geographical and territorial factors linked us to other nations, and from their cultural treasure we also borrowed, but never at the cost of departing from our cultural essence.

The more we delve deeper into Somali folklore it becomes all the more obvious how it partook and touched on every dimension of social life, leaving nothing outside its filed of vision, including the following: Labour songs, stockraising, frugality, herd rearing, caravaneering, watering, prosperity and drought, etc. All these and others constitute a broad field for Somali mass literature. To the extent that life is multifaceted so is the culture that genuinely reflects it. Accordingly culture then actively and dynamically mirrored life as then lived. Whenever we seriously consider the Somali folklore it vividly demonstrates the reality of the society that saw its creation, and the stages passed through by their social life.

That life and its temporal scope is not too distant from our contemporary times, though it may be assumed that its beginning was far back in our recorded history, attests to Somali folklore still retaining its vitality and relevances and to this very day its practice is living in us. Our practical day to day



The Waberi band in the dance of Kabeebeey.

lives is a sufficient illustration of its continuing efficacy. As is objectively admissable over 70% of our population persist in transhumant existence, and accordingly the caravan journey and the life's dependence on rainfall remain crucially important factors which nomadic folklore has to reckon with. In the meanwhile labour songs on caravan journeys, watering and watering tasks, camel loading, rearing of lambs making of household articles, and other tasks will be registered by nomadic folklore. In the same breath all the proverbs handed down from our ancestors are daily on our lips.

By this token alone can't we confidently state that Somali mass culture is a living reality that transcends temporal limitations?

Contrarily in «advanced societies» of our contemporary era which have reached a high level of culture the mass literature and generally folklore historically belongs to the distant past. Its tracing therefore only remains in present literary inheritance and generally in advanced art, theatrical plays stories, novels, music creation and universally in artistic creation for which the folklore is considered as its historical source.. The art and literature of those societies has tra-

velled long historical distances hinging on the birth of the new and the passing away of the old in their content which is being continuously enriched, extended and deepened in essence, as it were by a process of distillation and crystallisation of folklore. It is in the very nature of human and social history that every stage gives way to another, in the overall developmental process. Therefore the present European society in its stages of folklore creation had a comfortable transitional time of development, so much so that its great value today is side in its inextinguishable facility to adopt new ideas and

concepts to existing forms by investing in them with new meanings. i. e. as an example the epic and legends of early Greeks such as the odyssey From early greek civilisation to the contemporary, every subject matter to be studied regarding these legends related to their artistic root, and European literature at all times depended on creative and never drying up conceptual streams which were revitalised and reinvigorated. Suffice to mention the oedipus legend and how it widely influenced European art. Mention must also be made of personalities such as Heracles, Sisyphus, Oedipus, Agamemnon, Akel, and others who have immortalised their names. and European art has studied them from every angle so much so today their writings have become an integral and inseparable part of the European artistic mainstream.

Somali mass culture and all folklore dimensions of today are not as it seems, like the European one which is above analysed, and thus it becomes true if we state that somali folklore is not only a remote historical source and endlessly contributing to the rest of our cultural and artistic fields, but life itself which day after day is immeasurably going on and growing.



Shoba, is a beautiful Somali folklore dance



Folklore dancers from Waberi

Each society passes through a historical stage when its social consciousness takes an a folklore form. That is when every aspect of social life is characterised by social cooperation and solidarity, and the individual role is phenomenally not inseparable and indivisible from that of the social collective in which he/she lives. In such a society people as a group engage in tasks, and as a totality confront and face the natural hardships, and

together create their productive implements. In the same vein, their concepts, reflections, cognition, artistic and literary productions are collective oriented, and there is no one individual who gives his name to an idea, collectively beneficial, but his own creation, an epic story of his ownmaking, a poetic line of his imagination, or a particular work implement invented by him. The creation and growth of life is solely the prerogative of the

collective, and it takes the collective's name. Any individual who is gifted contributes to the society's treasure of knowledge and partakes in its further enrichment. Be that as it may, when society breaks into antagonistic classes following the appearance of private property, there comes to the forefront the individual who by dint of his giftedness makes a name for himself alone, and in this process the collective's name is banished, being relegated to second place Vis-Vis the individual. It is then that works of art and literature become tied to their individual creators.

Folklore in early stages of human knowledge is yielded primary place of honour, and it alone did not submit to separate individual recognition.

European society has travelled many centuries away from this stage, but for Somali society it was only yesterday, and upto now, we still have one foot in it.

From this brief glimpse we can clearly deduce how influential folklore is in our social life of the present.

**IN SPITE OF ALL THE THREATS AND DANGERS.
WE REMAIN UNSHAKABLE IN THE GREAT CONFIDENCE
WE HAVE IN OUR PEOPLE WHO POSSESS GREAT
MORAL VIRTUES, DETERMINATION AND GREAT CAPACITY
FOR SELF-SACRIFICE. WE ARE CONFIDENT
THAT WE SHALL SUCCEED IN OUR PRESENT TASKS
JUST AS WE SUCCEEDED IN THE PAST, THANKS TO
THE INVINCIBLE UNITY AND COURAGE OF OUR
PEOPLE.**

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY
JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD BARRE!
PRESIDENT OF THE
SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
ON THE 8TH ANNIVERSARY
OF OCTOBER 1969 REVOLUTION.**



«MILES TO GO»

By A. M. HIZAM

With agony and ghostly apparition
Approached me the past sleep;
The company of dreadful mares
With bayonet pierced birth,
With fire silenced families
To flee threatened my soul.
But now nearly let
The flow of salty drops
Down brooks of times print.
«Do manly deed», said I in anger.
My head I lowered
Deep down the trench
To retard his visit
Till cause is served.
Then bit my arm
Not lust for blood
But off my mind
Heave all past horror.
My task just now
And hope to come
To choose my road
And serenely move
To my paradise.
To Sidamo, Bali and beloved West,
That wait till devil
Is driven out.
Dove not the means,
But daring arm.
There I can meet
To welcome him —
The lovely friend,
The dreamless sleep.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



Background to the Liberation Struggle of the Western Somalis

Issued by: Ministry
of Foreign Affairs

Seldom has a war of liberation been so little known and understood as that of the Western Somali Liberation Front. But there is saying that «truth will out». The courageous struggle of the Somali people is what sometime called the Ogaden daily arouses wider interest. The world has come to realize that the uprising of the Western Somalis, together with the confrontation of Southern Africa, must be counted among the longest and most bitterly contested colonial issues of our time. Even so, the principles which underlie it and the history of the struggle itself are very clear.

The very first point made in the Charter of the OAU is «The inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny». Decolonization was seen as so fundamental that the point precedes not only all the articles but all the rest of the preamble as well. Similarly, in Article 1, the United Nations Charter asserts the principle of «self-determination of peoples» and recognizes the needs both «to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political advancement, their just treatment and their protection against abuses», and «to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the people, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its

peoples. Indeed the Charter goes so far as to say that where a full measure of self-government has yet to be attained «the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount».

It is likewise the position of the Somali Democratic Republic that Somalis — whomsoever they have been colonized by in historical recent times — are as entitled as any other peoples to the rights so defined. This booklet is intended therefore, to describe the «particular circumstances» and the «territory» and «people» of Western Somalia. Reference might also be made, not only to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also the covenants of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights. Article 1 of each of these covenants affirms in identical terms that «all peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development». Unfortunately neither the Imperial Government of the Ethiopian Empire, nor its successor regime have as yet acceded to these two covenants which offer mankind further protection against the very injustices which the UN and OAU seek, as cardinal priority, to guard against. Let us proceed directly, therefore, to the question: Who are the Somali people?

THE SOMALI PEOPLE IN HISTORY:

The origins of the Somali Nation date back many centuries into the early history of the Horn of North-Eastern Africa. Archaeological evidence of the famed ancient realm of Punt, with which the Pharaohs traded; references by Greeks and Romans; the sites of ancient cities and settlements — many still awaiting more detailed study — survive to this day. Several old cities including Mogadishu the present capital remain thriving administrative and commercial centres. Smaller centres serve as market of agricultural areas. However, the Somalis have always been a predominantly pastoral people and they develop early on and in many ways unique state framework to reflect their social structure and way of life.

No nation lives in complete isolation and contacts there have been plenty across the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and to the South particularly along the Coast. Likewise to the west, trade routes have long extended into the lands of the Oromos or Gallas, the Afars and the Eritreans and even beyond into the highlands of Abyssinia above the Western escarpment of the Great Rift Valley, where the people had adopted an early form of Christianity. The Somali territories, however have always maintained a geographical, ethnic and cultural distinctness, particularly from those highlands,

on which city states and squabbling feudal principalities rose and fell in profusion over the centuries. There have been wars which usually occurred when one or other of the Abyssinian kings was able to effectively assert himself as emperor and true imperial fashion attempt to raid and collect tribute or plunder from neighbour in every direction. Such invasions were successfully contained by the Somalis - for example, in the fourteenth century reign of the Abyssinian Emperor Ande Sjo and the fifteenth century reigns of Emperors Zare Yakob and Baida Mariam. There were however long periods when peaceful commerce was more typical; war was never the norm.

In the sixteenth century, Abyssinian raiding parties again engaged in plunder and destruction. The harassed Somali Nation was obliged to retaliate. Somali armies led by their hero, the famous Somali ruler of Harar, the Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim El-Ghazi (nicknamed «Gurey» the «left handed») swept across the rift valley right up into the Abyssinian highlands. His exploits and those of his forces were recorded at the time and have lived on in the traditions of Abyssinians and Somalis alike. To the Somalis, his name ranks with those of later nationalists such as Sayid Mohamed Abdille Hassan - and has become an inspiration to the nationalists of today. In Abyssinia it is used to intimidate unruly or disobedient children.

The Abyssinian imperial forces of those days were allied with the first generation of Portuguese imperialists who as part of their world plan sought to control the trade of the Indian Ocean and the adjacent Gulfs. The Portuguese did occupy certain points on the coasts of North-Eastern Africa from time to time, but were never in a position to overcome the Somali Nation.

It is important to point out that neither the city of Harar - nor any other Somali city - included Abyssinians from the highlands west of the rift valley among its citizens.

Not all the rulers resided permanently at Harar - the Emir Abu-Bakar, may from 1512, have been the first among some 26 rulers named in the chronicles to do so. Much has been written by Arab and other travellers and scholars touching on the Somali Nation of those days which had trade links as far as China, but the first European known to have passed through one of the five gates of Harar built by Emir Nur as a defence against the Abyssinians - was an Englishman disguised as a muslim merchant. Although this was not until the mid-nineteenth century, it was still before the internecine strife of the Abyssinian highlands seriously overflowed again at the time of the scramble for Africa.

THE HORN OF AFRICA BEFORE THE SCRAMBLE

This English traveller was Sir Richard Burton and his impressions are significant, for he was quite clear on the independence of the Somali country. He described Harar and its environs before the scramble, in a work «First footsteps in East Africa or an exploration of Harar», published in 1856. His journey was on behalf of the East India Company «to ascertain the productive resources of the unknown Somali country in East Africa» which he correctly described as occupying «the whole of the Eastern Horn». He described the nomadic patterns of the majority of the peoples and called Harar an «ancient metropolis of a once mighty race, the only permanent settlement in East Africa, the reported seat of Muslim learning, a walled city of stone house, possessing its independent chief, its peculiar population, its unknown

language and its own coinage, the emporium of the coffee trade, the great manufactory of cotton cloths etc.» The wider «country of the Somali», Burton considered «by no means destitute of capabilities. Though partially desert and thinly populated», he wrote, «it possesses valuable articles of traffic and its harbours export the produce of the Gurage, Abyssinian, Galla and other inland races» Like the missionary Krap before him he mentioned trading contacts he had repeatedly heard of at Zeila and Harar, which reputedly extended right across to the West Coast of Africa. Although he did not explore it, there is also a long tradition of Islamic students from the region living and studying in special quarters at the Great Mosque in Damascus. Many indigenous documentary histories await an appropriate political and cultural climate for scientific study.

Burton met the ruling Emir. Ahmed Abubakar and described him as wearing «a flowing cloth, edged with snowy fur and a narrow white turban tightly twisted around a tall conical cap of red velvet» Burton had his own views on the structure of the Somali Nation. He described the Issa, for example, as «probably the most powerful branch of the Somali nation», living «Northward to the Wayma family of the Dankali Southward to the Gadabursi and midway between Zeila and Berbera; Eastwards bounded by sea and Westwards the Gallas around Harar». He did not mention any resident Abyssinians.

The Ottomans and their successors the Egyptians had long endeavoured to control the Eritrean and Somali coasts and associated trade routes. In 1875, the Egyptians, affecting the imperial designs of the Khedive Ismail, seized the Somali coast and occupied Harar. The ruler, Sheikh Muhammed Abdelsakur was killed, despite his

submitting, and replaced by a governor. However, the Egyptians were never able to subdue the people of the area. In 1882 the British occupied Egypt and organized the evacuation of their forces from Harar. Although, particularly since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the British were well aware of the important trade routes and valuable economy of the area, they did not seek to annex or protect the city of Harar and its environs. This was in deference to the French rather than to the local people. Instead they arranged that Abdullahi a son of the last Emir, should succeed.

Meantime Menelik the Abyssinian ruler of Shoa who had been amassing fire-arms with the help of European governments, began an expansionist policy which through conquest, colonization and agreements with other imperialists from Europe, was to more than double the area he ruled and in the process, make him Negusa Neghast (king of the king) of the Ethiopian empire. He coveted not only Harar but Zeila and great areas belonging to the Somali Nation. The defeat of the Italian armies by the Abyssinians at the battle of Adowa in 1896 certainly raised Menelik's stature in the imperial capitals of the world, but it inaugurated years of deprivation and tribulation for the entire Somali Nation which fell victim to colonial partition by the French, the British, the Italian and the Abyssinians.

THE PARTITION OF THE SOMALI NATION

Landing parties arriving apparently causally at points on the coast were most often resisted, as the Portuguese adventures had been before them, but eventually the Somali Nation found itself encircled. The interest of the French, the British and the Italians in the coast of the Gulf of Aden and the Horn of Africa did not abate. Treaties, agreement and protectora-

tes established by European companies and powers with Somali chieftains and dignitaries on or near the Northern and Eastern Coasts soon began to affect the lives of the people further inland. They are too many to list separately in this short pamphlet, but it should be noted that the formula they followed, with minor variation, clearly set out as paramount the maintenance of the independence of the Somalis.

The territorial integrity of the Somali Nation was of course vital and non-negotiable. Being in the main, nomadic and dependent upon herds of cattle and camels, their forefathers had, over the centuries, built up a measure of mastery over the seasonal ecology of the semi-desert lands of the Horn. Thus it was never implied that Britain or anyone else might be empowered to alienate any part of that territory — quite the reverse — or to restrict the vital patterns of transhumance. A typical agreement, dated 14th July, 1884, reads: «Whereas the garrisons of his Highness the Khedive are about to be withdrawn from Berbera and Bulahar and the Somali Coast generally, We, the undersigned Elders of the Habar-Awal tribe, are desirous of entering into an agreement with the British Government for the maintenance of our independence, the preservation of order etc...» and there was always a declaration, quoted here from the agreement signed by «Ahmed Murgan, Chief of the Ogaden» on 1st September, 1896, «...that I will not nor shall my successors or any of my people, cede or alienate any portion of my territories or dependencies...» Taken into to these provisions affirmed Somali sovereignty over their territory.

Meantime, from the highlands of Abyssinia, King Menelik of Shoa began to put pressure on Harar. The Emir refused to submit, even on receipt of threat «I will come to Harar and replace

the Mosque with a Christian Church» The Emir did however send a Somali, Hersi Ali, to appraise the British in Aden who had brought his family back to power, of his precarious position. Well aware of the extent of Menelik's armoury, they took no action. The Shoa forces crossed the Awash river the French poet Arthur Rimbaud had just described as «the boundary of Menelik's kingdom» and, not for the last time, put Harar and its environs to the sword.

In February, 1887, Menelik advised the British colonial authorities at Aden that he «King of Shoa and of all the Gallas good and bad (had) hoisted his flag in his (the Emir's) capital and my troops occupied his city...». In a clear reference not to Somali Nation but to the Christian terminology used by the other imperialists to justify colonization, he added «...This is not a Muslim country as everyone knows». He later wrote to his Italian ally. «my occupation of Harar augurs well for the commercial relations between Italy and Shoa», and anticipating further colonial adventures, added «...but more important is the question of Zeila, (a centuries old Somali port and trade terminus on the Gulf of Aden) if Your Majesty will see to its cession to me the port will be open to trade.»

In 1891, after further communication with Italy — his major armurer who nevertheless secretly aspired to a protectorate over Ethiopia — Menelik laid detailed claim, in letters to the heads of European states, to the areas he intended to colonize. He confirmed, what his campaigns had already made obvious, that he was determined to subdue «all the Gallas (Oromos)». «I shall endeavour» he wrote, «...to establish the ancient frontiers (tributaries) of Ethiopia up to Khartoum (present capital of the Republic of Sudan) and as far as Lake Nyanza (Lake Victoria)».

There is of course no historical justification for such claims against the lands of pre-colonial sister African states. Towards the east he included. «the country of the Borana Gallas and the Arusi country up to the limits of the Somalis, including also the Issa Somalis etc» Then, alone powers at a rulers of Africa, he boasted «If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be indifferent spectator». Nor was he.

With Harar as an advance base, Sioa military expedition began to raid and burn settlements and loot the herds of the Somalis. As in other parts of Africa the fact that many a patriot lost his life in valiant but unsuccessful resistance to such colonial savagery, is well documented. A British political agent's report dated 12th April, 1892 is typical of many. It reads «a large Abyssinian expedition returned from the Ogaden... bringing with them as booty, some thousands of camels, cattle and property of all descriptions. (they had) devastated a large part of the Western Ogaden and slaughtered the people». Missionaries; travellers; big game hunters — all repeatedly describe countless similar horrors suffered by men, women, children and livestock in Western Somalia.

Yet the British, particularly after the Ethiopian defeat of the Italians, saw themselves in a weak position. They needed only to secure fresh meat for their Aden garrison astride the imperial route to India. This, together with their serious difficulties in the Sudan before and after the death of General Gordon, suggested an urgent settlement with Ethiopia, despite the many problems drawn to their attention by the «protected» Somalis which they had duly noted. Accordingly, and it must be stressed without much regard for protected Somalis, whom they also denied arms to protect themselves

they restricted their sphere of influence in the Horn of Africa and negotiated new boundaries with Menelik, and in particular with his governor in Harar (the Ras Makonen, father of Haile Selassie) and with other colonial powers. Both France, because of her imperial ambitions on the Upper Nile and expanding commercial activity in Abyssinia, and Italy likewise failed to honour protectorate agreements with the Somalis.

These arrangements are clearly null and void in international law since the Somalis, although materially affected, were not party to them. Their effect was that Ethiopia gained control — although in most areas she did not exercise this at least until the 1930's and in some places not at all — over many more thousand square miles of Somali country. As has been observed, the Somalis had in no case delegated to anyone the right to cede territory on their behalf. Several other criteria held legally relevant, such as «effective occupation» all demonstrate the illegality of Ethiopian occupation of Western Somalia — a claim she bases on colonial treaties between imperialist powers. This is particularly so, since the signing of the United Nations Charter, with its emphasis on equal rights and the self-determination of peoples, and the subsequent departure of British, Italian and French colonial administrations. In decolonization struggle which involve the ascertainment of title, the principle of the right of self-determination of the people of the territory is the only relevant norm of contemporary international law as recent cases involving Namibia and other areas have demonstrated.

THE RESISTANCE OF SOMALI PATRIOTS

At the time of partition, the Somalis themselves remained largely in ignorance of the new arrange-

ments despite their being so vital to their livelihood. A few however were, aware. Frah Nura, a poet who died about 1930, had written «The British, the Ethiopian, and the Italians are squabbling, the country is snatched and divided by whosoever is stronger. The country is sold piece by piece without our knowledge. And as for me — all this is a sign of the last days of the world».

Small wonder, therefore that when an attempt at demarcation was later made, righteous indignation led to tension, riots and even the death of a commissioner involved. Meantime also, the more aware of the opinion-formers throughout the bewildered and suffering Somali Nation — which like others in Africa and elsewhere did not cease to exist just because of the veneer of multi-faceted colonialism — also began to comprehend and vigorously to oppose all influences which seemed to «divide and rule» their country and their common culture.

One of the first Somalis to write his life story in English earlier this century, when deploring racism and colonialism, commented on the increasing parochialism forced on the marriage pattern of the people by such dismemberment. But it was through the Somali Nation's great literary tradition in its own language that protest remained the most strident. New strength was drawn from the exploits of the Somali freedom fighter, Sayid Mohamed Abdille Hassan. A renowned and travelled scholar, he had resented the affront which all colonialism entailed, to the political independence and other aspects of the indigenous culture of the Somali Nation. He was born in 1864, and was from the Ogaden clan of Western Somalia. He fought the British, the Italians and the Ethiopian colonialists for twenty years — and even Somalis if he considered them collaborators. He was of co-

urse very far removed from the «mad Mullah» image with which the colonialists tried to discredit him. A visionary who was also one of Africa's greatest poets, Sayid Mohamed addressed on of his long remembered messages to his own clansmen, the Ogaden, specifically exhorting them to resist the the colonialism of the Ethiopian Amahars and the British. He communicated his poetic vision of their struggle in the following inspiring and still most relevant phrases:

«...My heart rejoices at the decision you have come to,

When in the early morning, at dawn, you rise and mount your stallion,

Apart from the sand and dust that rises up around you — the columns of dust —

The road which you will follow is not one on which people lose their way..

The road was that of self-determination and freedom for his people.

His campaigns and battles are too numerous to set out in detail in this pamphlet. One battle at Dulmadobe, in which a British officer sent to lead a camel corps against the nationalists and most of his troops were killed, is particularly remembered. As today, not even attacks from the air daunted the Somali spirit and like Lobengula of Zimbabwe, Sayid Mohamed was never captured but died late in 1921 of natural causes in the freedom of the countryside for which he fought. His feat of courage and defiance compare with those of the Mahdi, Samore Toure and the uncowed Asanthene Prempeh I. The deeds of his followers were in the pattern of the Impi of Chakka. The Maji-Maji warriors and many later nationalist heroes. Today detailed accou-

nts of all these liberation struggles are not only taught in schools throughout free Africa and elsewhere but remain inspiring and living traditions recounted at firesides in the remotest countryside.

In contrast, Ethiopian troops joined the other colonial forces in most of the punitive campaigns for it was the emperor of Ethiopia himself who first suggested joint action by colonial powers against the Somali nationalist and his followers. It may be noted that, Menelik also employed foreign mercenaries in his wars of expansion, tradition that dies hard — one Russian Commander, Leontive, had his legs blown off by his cannon!

In the 1920's and 1930's oppression, particularly in Western Somalia, worsened. Except at Harar and closeby there was no permanent Ethiopian administration and what little there was has always been military. Undisciplined raiding parties pillaged wantonly. With the advent of the Italo-Ethiopian war in 1936, Italy overran Ethiopia and the British Protectorate in 1940 during the Second World War. Somalis, except those in Northern Kenya and Jibouti, were placed under one administration. After the occupation by British Commonwealth, Belgian and local forces in 1941-42. The British military continued this administrative pattern for some years.

The attitudes of Haile Sellassie and his imperial government, however, had not changed. His mobilization order at the beginning of the war had read, «Italy prepares a second time to violate our territory... soldiers gather round your chiefs and thrust back the invader You shall have lands in Eritrea and Somaliland». For any Ethiopian soldier who did not fancy the life of a settler in someone else's country, and knew that no Somali would accept serfdom, there was the warning that villages after the receipt of the proclamation «shall be hanged».

The Italo-Ethiopian war did not mean, much to most Somalis who disliked the colonialism of Shoa Amhara just as much as any other And true to form, soon after Haile Sellassie's return to Addis Ababa from exile in May 1941, he laid claim to all of Italy's adjacent colonies. Regrettably, he achieved imperialist support over the fate of Eritrea, but not with regard to ex-Italian Somaliland. Moreover, the administration of Western Somalia and certain other «reserved areas» was retained by the British military and they were not administered by Ethiopia until as late as 1948 and in other parts 1955 — when non-self-government countries elsewhere in the world had already begun to achieve self-determination.

But the great powers were neither consistent nor could they agree on the future of Italy's former colonies, which rapidly became mere pawns in a wider diplomacy. The price of their cynicism and indecision is paid for daily by the suffering Eritrean people. Meantime, in 1949 Italy was granted a ten-year United Nations Trusteeship over her former Somali colony. Haile Sellassie cabled the secretary General curiously condemning the General Assembly for «overriding the principles of self-determination of peoples so clearly expressed by the Somalis». In point of fact Ethiopia did not then and does not now adhere to this principle and the world - still less the Somalis - was not deceived. The true struggle of all Somalis for restoration of their rights of self-determination and independence continued in every part of the nation — as many a monument to the brave and many an unmarked grave attests today.

Everywhere the Somali Youth League took up the banner of Sayid Mohamed Abdille Hassan and called for the restoration of cultural and political freedom. At Jigjiga in Western Somalia, they declined to haul down their flag and

the police opened fire, killing twenty-five persons. The Somali Youth League was then proscribed and an attempt was made to ban all political activity. But events elsewhere in the Somali lands, much to the emperor's chagrin, moved inexorably with the postwar pattern of decolonization.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE.

In 1960, the Somali in the British Protectorate were due to regain their independence, just before those in the Italian Trust Territory and as that time approached there was a general atmosphere of excitement throughout the entire Somali Nation — in Western Somalia not least. Emperor Haile Sellassie meantime tried belatedly to revise the image of Amhara colonialism but he did not understand the modern world. It has not been in the nature of colonialism anywhere to foster anything but the superficial study of indigenous peoples and Western Somalia was no exception. Colonialists are more concerned with assimilation.

Speaking in the Ogaden on 25 August, 1956, the Ethiopian emperor promised the Somalis schools «not only (to) impart education, but also to foster understanding and co-operation among the military, the police and the civil population». He knew well the nature of the Ethiopian presence there. Nothing ever came of what Haile Sellassie, using the royal plural, described as «Our long cherished but delayed plan to initiate (development) plans which posterity will long remember». That he was thinking in terms of assimilation into Amahara culture is clear enough. «It is imperative for you, who from part of the great family of the Empire of Ethiopia» he told the Somalis, «to acquire the necessary education where by you will be able to take over the various positions and responsibilities that await you in the Central Government Administration ...lack of knowledge of the national language

will be a barrier (so) learn to read and write Amharic».

Nor did the emperor's ambition end with the Somalis of Western Somalia. In true Imperial tradition he concluded «...we consider that all the Somali peoples are economically linked with Ethiopia... we do not believe that a (Somali) state can stand alone, separated from Ethiopia». But even the few Somali children who were brought to schools in Addis Ababa rejected Amharic as did Eritrean when an attempt was made to impose that language on them. They, like the South African Students of Soweto and elsewhere who today reject Afrikans, knew well the political relationship between the medium and the message. The Somalis proud of their distinct and rich culture, put it quite graphically in a proverb: Let no one who merely promises greener pasture, control your moving camp. They rejected assimilation out of hand.

Even though principles in the annexures to resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly do in certain circumstances allow a non-self-governing territory to be said to have reached a full-measure of self-government through integration with an independent state — as well of course, as through free association or emergence as a sovereign state — the implementation of any and all of these options is held to require free, voluntary and informed choice, and must be on the basis of complete equality and through free political institutions. None of this for sure is applicable to Western Somalia. In international law, any purported integration by Ethiopia may be seen to be null and void.

No serious student of the Horn of Africa was surprised when, on the restoration of their independence in 1960, the former British Somaliland and the United Nations Trust that was formerly Italian Somaliland joyfully and at once reunited. Unfortunately

but understandably, there followed over the years not infrequent friction with the Ethiopian soldiery still clinging to their occupation of Western Somalia. That both the Italian Government and the Somali Government made every attempt to solve this problem by negotiation, is a matter of record at the United Nations, but the Ethiopian government did not cooperate.

Meantime, Emperor Haile Sellassie felt able to encourage the French colonial authorities similar to linger on. According to BBC broadcast on 28th August, 1966, in an unguarded moment the emperor, speaking to his fellow colonialists said, (I would like France to stay in French Somaliland for ever». But it was not to be. France like Britain and Italy before her, withdrew; the right of self-determination prevailed and in 1977 the independent state of Djibouti was born. The Somali Nation was greatly relieved but the general attitude of Ethiopia gives pause for thought.

It should be remembered that when the founding fathers of modern African nationalism and pan-Africanism began to plan the systematic transformation of traditional African resistance to all forms of colonial oppression into what came to be termed the «African assertion» or «Revolution», Ethiopia was not much in evidence. She did not host or even participate in early Africanist conferences — even in the vital one held in Manchester, England, in 1945 when it was decided to open a new phase of the struggle in Africa itself. Abyssinian rulers had indeed discouraged visiting delegates propounding any form black consciousness or more progressive concepts. It is well known, if not often repeated fact that even in the early days of the United Nations Organization, Ethiopia preferred to identify on ideological and even ethnic grounds with the other imperialist powers. The precipitate haste in which she

sent forces to join the controversial «United Nations» expeditionary force to Korea is an example of her controlling allegiances — as is her subsequently sending delegates to Lisbon before the recent changes, to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of the activities of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal — which initiated among other evils the hideous slave trade and the very era of territorial imperialism itself.

Small wonder when sites in progressive African capitals were proposed which might auger badly for the interests of her imperialist allies, the Imperial Ethiopian Government was assisted to offer a «permanent» home in 1963 for the headquarters of the OAU in her feudal capital. Many an African delegate of those days came away with personal experiences of the colonial and racist attitudes of the Amharas, who despised them as «Baria» or «Shankallas», before a new word «Africanotch» was discreetly introduced by the supercilious authorities. Worse, the same shocking attitudes were maintained at gun-point in Western Somalia. That the oppressive regime of the former emperor derived support from sychophantic items in the amharic press referring to him as «emperor of Africa» and describing every visiting dignitary as «seeking advice on how to rule his subjects» has been revealed but the successor regime has to date proved incapable of replacing outdated and arrogant Amhara attitudes towards other nationalities. In fact it continues to practice similar and even more cruel methods to suppress their aspirations.

Meantime, however, events in Western Somalia did not stand still. There is a limit to the oppression which any human being can stand. When through negligence, incompetence and corruption adequate measures were not taken to deal with the famines which recently struck part of North-Eastern Africa and

the Sahel; and instead attempts were made by an indifferent, colonial and aristocratic regime in Addis Ababa even to cover up the starvation and sorry suffering of the people — then the Western Somalis sent the pathetic message to the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic, that if they were to die, they wished at least to die as free Somalis once more.

The Somali Government was in fact already responding to their plight. The provision and even airlift of food and supplies was already under way. Refugees and resettlement training camps were established. Everyone cooperated. Even students temporarily gave up their studies to help tend the needs of their brothers and sisters.

Enough was enough. Early in 1977 the people of Western Somalia, the most oppressed and long suffering fragment of the Somali Nation, rose under the banner of their liberation front and ejected the last of the colonialists from Somali country. Although often accused of encouraging the freedom fighters who were after all their brothers and sisters, the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic had indeed long restrained the liberation movement still hoping against hope to achieve a peaceful and just African solution to the problem. Most unfortunately, the military successors to the Ethiopian imperial regime, unable by themselves to comprehend let alone withstand the tide of history, called in foreign mercenaries to facilitate the introduction of a hoped for new chapter of suppression of the human rights of the Somali Nation.

In righteous indignation and in a spirit of solidarity with the western Somali Liberation Front and the United Nations — for respect for the right of self-determination is not only incumbent upon all states, but following General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV) its promotion «through joint and separa-

te action» is a «duty» - the government of the Somali Democratic Republic, without counting the cost in unfinished joint projects, expelled from its soil those who so abused hospitality and who demonstrated such contempt for human dignity as to provide mercenaries and supplies to the former occupying power.

CONCLUSION

To pretend, as spokesmen in Addis Ababa tend to say, that Ethiopia was the only state and rest of Africa mere warring tribes, smacks of racist arrogance but is nonetheless typical of what has been termed colonial mentality. It is to ignore ancient Ghana-Mali-Songhai, the Kingdoms of Asante, Dahomey and Benin, the hausa-fulani states, Morocco, Bakongo, Bunyoro and Buganda, the realm of the Mwene Mutapa, the Zulu Nation - to say nothing of Nubia, Meroe and Egypt herself - to arbitrarily mention but a few historic African states. Nations in Africa are not a colonial development. It was not the existence of Abyssinia or the Ethiopian empire state that was uniquely significant, nor even its survival as a largely unconquered political expression into modern times. It was that, having acquired sufficient weapons, is alone among the states of Africa, participated in the scramble for Africa, conniving with other imperial powers from Europe and, moreover, when those other colonialists gave up their ill-gotten gains, Ethiopia hung on to them. Her colonial repertoire varied from the once Portuguese pattern of cultural assimilation to the settlement of alien groups on alienated lands, punitive raiding expedition, looting, rape and vicious repression: details and photographs of which have been previously published by the Somali Government.

Alienation of land, trampling on human rights and police oppression are the same, be they Amhara or Afrikaner. Well might the leader

of the Western Somali Liberation Front cry out, with Chief Luthuli. «Let my people Free». There have been many Steve Biko's among the suppressed nationalities in Ethiopia. The study of colonialism not just in Europe but every where in the world — take the Ottoman empire for example — demonstrates a universal reluctance on the part of imperialists to lose control over the political and economic destiny of captive nations. The situation in Western Somalia has not been unique. Nor are colonial boundaries by the very nature of their imposition sacred. Decolonization cannot be frozen half way through, to suit one anachronistic empire, in defiance of the pattern of world history. Colonialism, while it persists is «permanent aggression» which has to be resisted. Only after national integrity is restored through self-determination are frontiers secure. This interpretation is of course in conformity with the principles of justice and International Law.

Ethiopia has long benefited from the fact that its capital was designated the seat of the Organization of African Unity. That location has permitted Ethiopia to distort the issue of its maladministration of Somali territories at the Somali Government's expense. An impression has been deliberately created in Africa and elsewhere that the Somalis repudiate the notion of the stability of borders and the principle of respect for territorial integrity and that accepting the justice of their claim will somehow create chaos throughout the continent. That is of course not the case. The issue of

Western Somalia is unique and sui generis in the context of Africa.

The Somali Democratic Republic respects lawful boundaries and the principle of territorial integrity, as it accepts the right of self-determination and other relevant rules of international law in the resolution of the current problem.

The truth is that, aware that the mere fact that she was admitted to the United Nations does not import validation of illegal territorial claims, the imperial Ethiopian Government and its successor regime have gone so far as to attempt to use the OAU itself to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of nationalities. This is doomed to fail, because the spirit of African Unity is one between equals, not between colonialists and subjects. It must be stressed that not all Ethiopians are guilty of encouraging such perversion. The terrible repression of opposition groups now current within the crumbling empire-state has been no more able to prevent the enlightened from defying official «red terror» and constructively discussing the «nationality problem» as they describe it in their many booklets and pamphlets - than it has to deny the equal rights and self-determination of the Eritreans and the Somalis of Western Somalia. It is with such enlightened Ethiopians that a free Somali Nation can, as in times past, live without outside interference in brotherhood and mutual respect. Meantime, however, this vision and that of continental unity itself will continue to fade unless the cancer of persistent colonialism in Africa's Southern and North-Eastern extremities is

cured once and for all.

In many speeches, the President of the Somali Democratic Republic has continued to endeavour to promote a peaceful settlement in Western Somalia. He has sent delegations and even sought by personal summitry to secure a just and equitable settlement acceptable to the people of Western Somalia.

He met both the late emperor and his current successor. To date, all this has been to no avail, but the position of the Somali Democratic Republic has not changed. A peaceful and just settlement by negotiation is still the aim. However it must now be pointed out that the chances of securing such an African solution are rendered near impossible while Russian and Cuban mercenaries with massive arms supplies flagrantly appear to have taken control of events. Not only those involved in the legitimate struggle in Western Somalia, but also innocent and uninvolved Somali civilians in several towns and cities in the Somali Democratic Republic have been subjected to strafing from the air and to bombs and napalm. Fatalities and severe injuries have resulted. Such a situation is clearly intolerable and has to stop.

The considered opinion of the Somali Government is that the entire international community should call upon the Soviet Union and its allies to discontinue their intervention in the affairs of the African continent. An African settlement, having in mind the interests of the peoples involved, would then have a good chance of achievement.

Women are ready for the defence of their Land.



Girl students undergone military training.

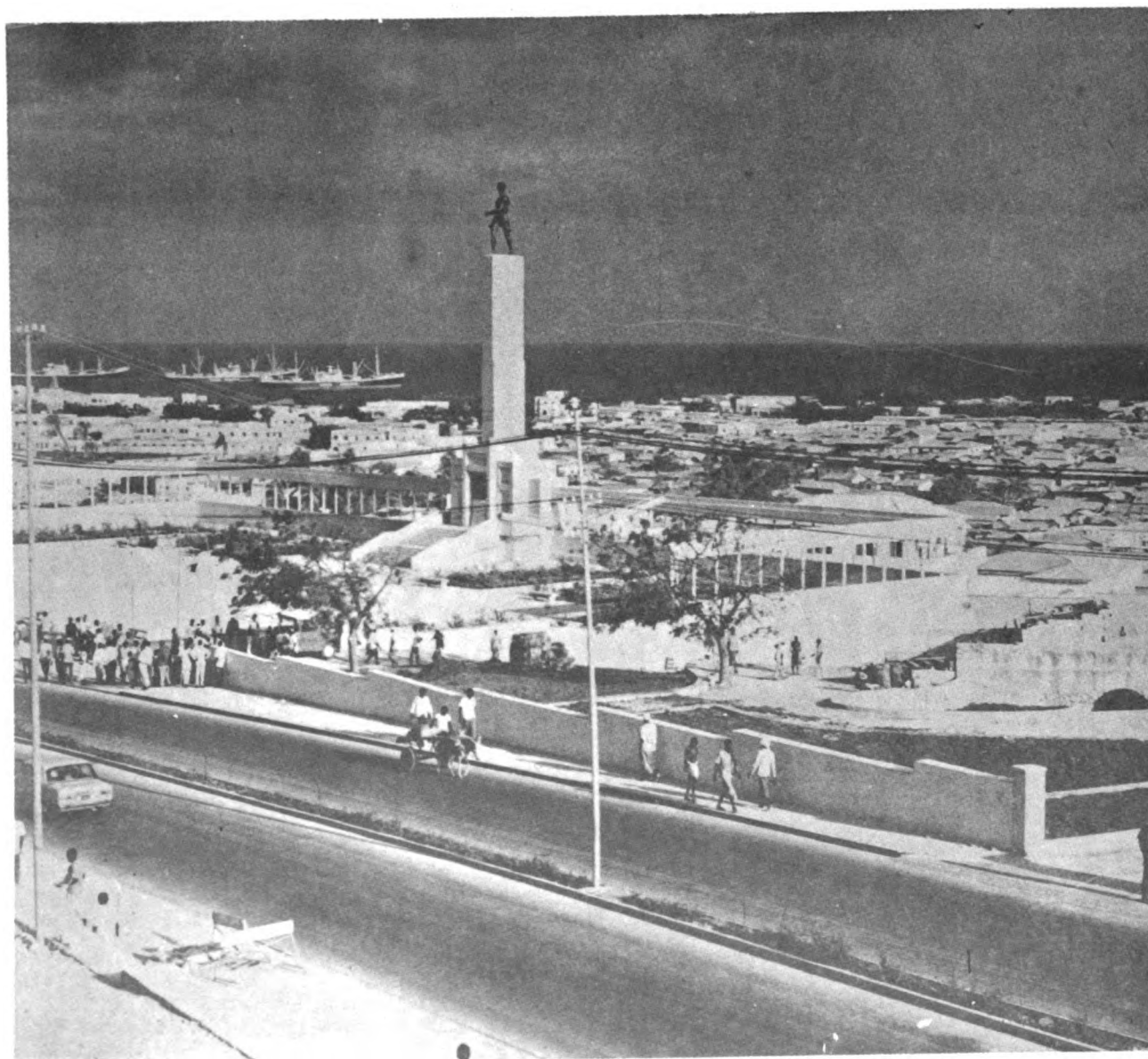


The Somali people are famous for their patriotism.





Demonstrations of the social Organisations for the Country's defence.



Mogadisho: The Stone throwing monument

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

Israel's obduracy and the Middle East situation

Convergence of intrests in the Horn
of Africa

Namibia: liberation soon to come

People and their Natural environment

What is Historical progress

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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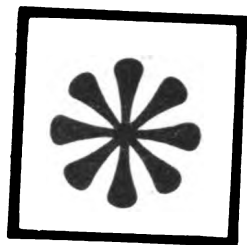
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EDITORIAL NOTES

ABORTED COUP

Political change may take place in a society either by force or by other means depending on the social consciousness to change the prevailing social ill-conditions in that society. Such a social change often succeeds because it represents the true aspiration of the masses and can ably effect a genuine socio-economic progress.

Historical examples of such revolution can be traced, beginning from Lenin's Great October Revolution in the USSR, the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Mao Tse Tung, and those of Korea and Vietnam. These are but only few glaring examples, indeed, many other social revolutions took place in different parts of the globe, the 21 October Revolution in Somalia being one of them.

During the process of the revolution, it is quite natural to find groups who lost their interests trying to oppose the new social order by all possible ways, ranging from the dissemination of the false slanderous propaganda, to organized armed position. In fulfilling their heinous plans these groups more often than not resort to put on the pretentious cloak of nationalism or claim class allegiance. It also happens that at other times, particularly when the country is passing through difficult circumstances, they are manipulated by external foreign forces seeking to check the march of the revolution.

Such attempts hardly succeed owing to the absence of a very important factor; winning the masses support. On 9th of last April some members of the armed forces tried to topple the existing rule of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party which is dedicated to the execution of the 21 October Revolution programme.

In view of this ugly undertaking many questions indeed come up to the mind: What were the intentions of these rebel groups? Who were they representing? What motivated them to this ill-fated action? A great deal remains still unclearified, but many aspects have however already come to the light:

— The coup bearers were a small group in pursuit of particular petty interests and who did not command the support of the Somali masses or even parts of it.

— The units of the armed forces which they had been able to treacherously gear into action did not share a common plan with the rebels. On the contrary they were deceived by the wild cry that the revolution was in danger and ought to be defended.

Moreover, these adventurous elements lacked any programme or ideology. This can be easily deduced from their hum drum methods

and their complete reliance on such primitive tribal based organization.

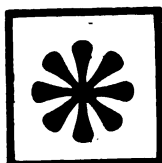
All these notwithstanding, it is quite ludicrous to find certain foreign press media depicting these self-centred elements as ardent nationalists who were opposed to the government decision to withdraw its military units from the battle zone in Western Somalia.

What a hypocrisy of patriotism.

The truth remains that these groups had for a long time, for many years, been harbouring this wicked and harmful move; but they were being closely followed by the concerned organs of the revolutionary Government who even, on certain occasions, warned some of them about the consequences of their suspicious behavior.

Blinded by their selfish interests, these elements sought to disrupt the unity of the Somali people, and hold the deep-going social changes in the society, and trample upon the equality and justice that prevails, . . . principles that contribute the rock-base of our glorious revolution. Hence their utter failure to win any sympathy or support from the masses.

The counter-revolutionary coup had been foiled, most of its participants and their leaders have been arrested and, as the secretary General of the SRSP made it clear in his address to the nation on the same day, they will all be brought before the law. Finally, it is incumbent upon the Somali masses (Workers, Peasants, armed forces, students and nomads) to realise the grave danger underlying such anti-patriotic action. It is through defending the popular revolution and its achievements that the rash, adventristic moves by few short sighted traitors, who try to deviate the revolution from its correct path, will be crushed. Party cadres and its branches will in particular be required to display great alertness and continued vigilance.



The patriotic front is victorious

It was a short time ago, that Ian Smith and some of the African leaders in Salisbury signed the so called internal-agreement, which did not get any recognition from the World-Opinion. Ian Smith and his cohorts and company ought to see the Western states abstention in the security council's crucial vote as a sign of the sad and sorrowful end awaiting their racist regime.

That lack of recognition can be seen from the doubts of the world opinion about the Zimbabwean matter. This achievement belongs to the PF, the front line states and the progressive states or organizations which are giving unqualified support to the Liberation Movement. What can also be clearly seen is the endeavour to safeguard the strategic interests of the few white-minority regimes and that of international capitalism in General. In 1965 the supremacist regime invoked unilateral declaration in dependence, however today it can no longer maintain it.

In the face of the stiff and stubborn resistance of the patriotic movement if yesterday the black majority were easily *denied* the enviable majority right, today the racists were forced to deal with Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, true representatives of the people. When the rest of Africa was divided Rhodesia came under British hegemony who, true to their colonialists style, facilitated the political authority to pass into the hands of Smith's illegal regime. There has been many U.N. discussion on Rhodesia.

How many sanctions has been agreed upon and if these were seriously carried out properly the oppression over the black majority could have long time ago, been mentioned.

The first game was the Anglo-American plan. When the patriotic front studied carefully, they declared in 21 Sept. 1977 the following:

1. The principle that independence is non-negotiable right of the people of Zimbabwe and that what is negotiable with reference to independence is merely the modalities of bringing it about.

2. The principle of democratic elections based on universal adult suffrage;

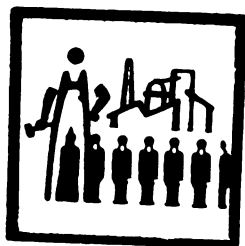
3. Recognition that the conflict situation in Zimbabwe being a war situation can only be resolved by those parties directly involved in that conflict, that is to say, the British Government and their settler kith and kin on the one hand and the patriotic front on the other. (The Zimbabwe Review vo. 6. no. 9/77).

If the African masses have been for long deceived by artificial means the masses have decided to end the colonial conditions and wage armed struggle.

The national front didn't stop on that, but has analysed every aspect of that proposal, but there has been no other points worth of discussion.

Then Smith came with a proposal; which has been his mind for a long time, namely the so-called agreement with some blacks who lost the masses and willing for opportunistic interests to cooperate with him.

The security council declared that this so called agreement is illegal and unacceptable for the world. The capitalist and illegal exploiters of the resources of Zimbabwe talk about stop the blood shed. They don't see as bloodshed, those millions of African masses they were exploiting for centuries, for which the only answer is the armed struggle. The patriotic front, which represents the people of Zimbabwe still hopes for peaceful talks but Smith's regime is for seeing its downfall unwilling to step down. Today Smith and those black leaders who signed with him the so called agreement have been widely rejected in the world. Nothing has been changed from the world opinion about the Rhodesian problem, on the contrary it has increased the disgust and disapproval for the agreement. The Patriotic front and front-line states gained support and recognition from the entire world. Peace in that region lies in the establishment of a majority rule led by the Patriotic Front. Victory will be for the masses, who are fighting for their independence.



Political' Social and Economic Affairs

Convergence of interests in the Horn!

By Abdi A. Jama

The international importance of the Horn has been increased by its strategic location in both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean facing the strategic strait of Bab El-Mandeb in the Southern gate of the Red Sea, further North the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba, the strait of Tiran and the strait of Hormuz in the entrance of the Gulf.

It is because of this inherent strategic importance of the Horn which made it imperative for the Euro — Ethiopian Colonisation of the Somali Peninsula and their illegal partition of the Somali Nation to five artificial parts in the later part of the 19th century.

Hence, any event taking place in the Horn undoubtedly has a far reaching repercussion on Africa. On the other hand, in terms of Geopolitics the Horn of Africa seems to be very relevant to the Middle East problems.

This global importance of the region has made the world to forget the real problems, the very existence and the aspirations of the people of the area who have nothing to do with the objectives of the powers in the conflict. In fact any people who live in a given region could have problems of colonisation, domination, or conflict etc.

Specifically, in this area where the colonialists were dividing the region in this case Ethiopia profited from the contradictory ambition of overseas colonialism by colonising the people of Western Somalia. Then after the departure of the overseas colonialism Ethiopia remained in the area claiming

that as an integral part of her Empire.

In this perspective, the basic root of the conflict of the Horn of Africa is a colonised one. Subsequently, the colonised people of Western Somalia have embarked on continuous struggle against their coloniser which culminated in their recent armed uprising against the flagrant colonialism of Ethiopia.

Unfortunately, a new method of redividing the African continent has been in the making through the subtle devices of cooperation and mutual assistance. Therefore, the ambition of the big powers remains unchanged and instead of taking the initiative in solving the problems by themselves they came to the conclusion, that their interests are best served in perpetuating the status Quo Ante.

The significance of this attitude means that colonialism or border conflict must remain intact in a direct violation of the interests of the peoples concerned. It is for this reason that just wars of liberation Fronts, WSLF, Abbo and the Eritrean fronts did not obtain the required support that they would have expected from the world.

Consequently, the converging interests in the Horn have three interwoven factors:

1) Political 2) Strategic and 3) Economic

On one hand, the Warsaw Bloc countries headed by the Soviet Union and Cuba have betrayed the basic principle of scientific socialism which recognises the national liberation movement, the

socialist countries and the working parties in the capitalist countries as being the component parts of the three progressive forces in the world fighting against colonialism and imperialism. Instead, the Soviet Union and his allies have betrayed this lofty principle for its strategic interests. That is acquiring Naval facilities in the Red Sea and in Ethiopia for the deployment of its bombers from the rear in the event of the outbreak of a third world war.

While the position of the Arab states is that the local issue of the Horn should not be internationalised; it should be left to the parties concerned and that peaceful solution should be sought for the problem under the auspices of the C.A.U. Accordingly, they want to preserve the Red Sea as sea of peace for international Commerce and Communication.

Above all, the paramount interests of the Arab States particularly those of the Red Sea basin and the Gulf lies in the elimination of super powers confrontation in the Horn and the Red Sea due to its constant danger for the security and the stability of the whole area.

Likewise, Somalia's position has always been that the issue of the Horn is a local question having the nature of colonialism per excellence between the liberation forces of the people under Abyssinian colonialism and that of the Empire State of Ethiopia. Subsequently the basic and lasting solution of the problem lies in the recognition of the inalienable right of the people of Western Somalia, Abbo and

Eritrea for self-determination. The immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops in the area which only complicate the peaceful solution of the problem and settlement of the issue through negotiation.

In contrast, the position of Western Europe has been at first a sympathetic one. This is partially due to the fact that Britain, France, and Italy) were former colonisers of the Somali Peninsula. However the West in their late January meeting held in Washington and attended by United States, Britain, France, Italy and West Germany «discussed their possible role...» In the conflict of the Horn. «They agreed not to become militarily involved even indirectly by supplying arms to the Red Sea area to help offset the estimated one billion dollars worth of Russian war material supplied to Ethiopia». They didn't take adequate measures about introduction of foreign troops in the area instead they decided «To urge the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) to intensify its efforts...» in settling the problem. But from the start the position of the United States has been an ambivalent one by adopting the policy of setting on the fence. In fact, despite the apparent ideological discrepancies between the super powers nevertheless, their interest coincided in the Horn of Africa. That is the preservation of the Ethiopian Empire — State intact and the subsequent, elimination of the national liberation forces of Western Somalia, Abbo, Eritrea, Afar, Tigre etc.

Further it is the interest of Israel to secure its shipping lines in the Red Sea and especially its oil routes by averting by any means available the emergence of another Arab State in the Red Sea basin i.e.

Eritrea. Thus making a reality the Red Sea as being an «Arab lake». Therefore, the larger interests of Israel is being served by the maintenance of the status Quo Ante in the Area. Furthermore the present realities prevailing in the Horn is a direct witness of the fact that the issue of the Horn «has been complicated by international power politics». Whereas in the past the United States was the dominant power supporting Ethiopia, but in the later 70's it was supplimented by the new comer, the Soviet Union, who adopted the position that the fundamental issue of the Horn was «No different from their attitude to the former colonies of the Tsars — that socialism rather secession was the panacea for all ills». While the position of the present regime in Ethiopia is that of preserving the Status Quo Ante of the Ethiopian Empire State which was buttressed in its expansionistic policies at the expense of her neighbours in the late 19th century by the European colonialist and now by the Warsaw pact countries headed by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Needless to say, what complicates the whole issue are the converging interests of the super powers for the control of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In fact, both the super powers and Israel agree on one idea: That is to avoid any means the Red Sea becoming an «Arab Lake».

One could also infer from the ambiguous position of the U.S. to the issue is that perhaps it wants to use the presence of the Soviet Union in Ethiopia as a constant threat to its Arab friends in the Middle East particularly Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States in the event

of the latter stopping the flow of Oil to the U.S. and Western Europe market. Another inference that could be deduced is the fact that they might have agreed tacitly to trade the Horn for Southern Africa. Where by the U.S. and its allies are given free hand in Southern Africa. While the Horn has been acknowledged as the Soviet Union of influence.

From the economic point of view the area is economically important one, in terms of the movement of oil from the Red Sea, the Gulf to Western Europe and U.S. market. It produces 95% of the exported oil in the world and has the highest oil reserve in the world. Besides, other two important factors which make the area very crucial one are the flow of normal trade (goods) passing through the Red Sea to the Gulf States, India, South East Asia, Africa and vice-versa. The importance of the flow of goods to the above mentioned countries for their trade balance and economic development. Obviously, if the Warsaw bloc countries control the flow of oil, the existence of Western Europe will undoubtedly be at their mercy.

In conclusion, the undermined peoples of the area i.e., the National Liberation Fronts of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea will continue their just struggle against their colonisers. This in turn means lack of permanent stability in the Horn as well as the absence of development and cooperation among the people in the whole region. Hence, the prevalence of the State of tension and instability in the area serve the paramount interests of the big powers and is detrimental to the colonised people of the area.

PARTY LIFE



Commemoration of the 7th March

The seventh of March is considered to be one of the historical days which the Somali nation recognises for its immense achievements during the period of revolutionary construction. It has been designated the day of both sport and the fight against illiteracy.

Therefore; the 7th March of this year has been marked with big commemoration which was intended for the observance of this occasion. Those who participated in the parade were: youth players, sport fans and the progressive masses of the fourteen districts of the Benadir Region. They marched throughout the streets of the city.

These people were carrying placardes depicting their sentiments as well as their chanting of revolutionary slogans. At the

end of the parade they gathered at Mogadishu Stadium.

The Secretary General of SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, participated in the commemoration of this day by delivering a historical speech.

In his speech, the President declared that the SDR will not stop its all out support to the national liberation fronts in the Horn of Africa. These liberation fronts are fighting for the achievement of their rights. Likewise, the national liberation fronts will continue their just struggle. the President said, even if all greed powers oppose their fundamental right.

J/le Siad spoke about the long struggle of the people of Western Somalia against Abyssinian colonialism, and the fact that



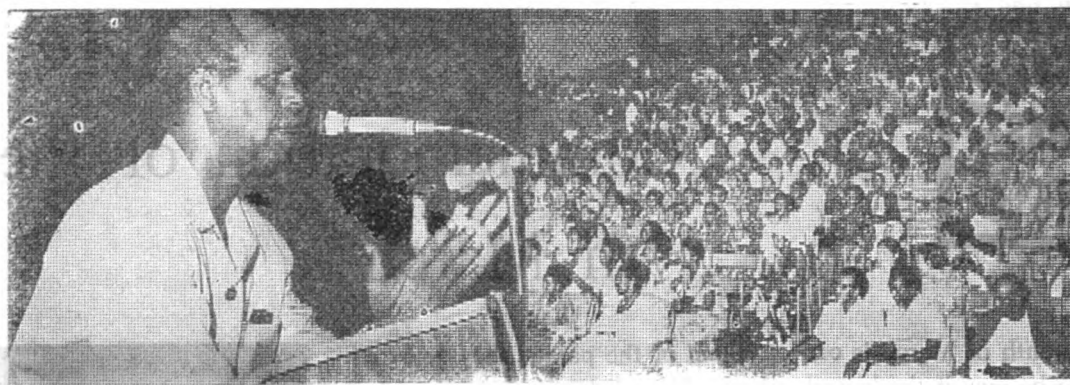
they were always victorious over their enemies. However, after every defeat, it has been the habit of the Abyssinian colonialist to rely on external force which by proxy gave a new terse of life to the slavery.

We want to tell the whole world that there is no force which can compel us to surrender our sovereignty, declared J/le Siad with the profound nationalistic sentiment with which our nation is imbued.

This historical speech of the Secretary General of the SRSP was continuously interrupted on several occasions by standing ovations, warm applauses and slogans of support manifested by the masses who were present in the stadium. The President concluded his speech by exhorting the somali nation to be prepared to sacrifice every thing for the defence of their mother land.



Ceremonies held on the occasion of 8th March



Jaalle Kulmie delivering a speech on the occasion of 8th March.

As recognized in many parts of the world, 8th March is the international women's day that all the progressive nations celebrate and into which, Somalia has become associated since 21st October Revolution of 1969.

In particular, the celebrations of this year reflect that the significance of the day was given due consideration in Somalia mainly because the Somali Women's Democratic Organization (SWDO) was founded in the past year. Thus, as this day marks the first anniversary of the foundation of SWDO, commensurate ceremonies has been held every where in the SDR.

What deserves mentioning is how the pioneers of the SWDO greatly glorify 8th March. Accordingly the somali women marched along the streets and towns and laid flower wreaths at the monuments of the Somali heroes as that of Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan, Hawo Taako, Dhagah-Tuur and the unknown soldier which are situated in different parts of the Capital City-Mogadishu.

During the evening ceremonies were held at the district Party centres of all the districts of the Somali regions. There the Somali women presented interesting programmes including speeches, concerning the significance

of the day and the role played by the somali women in acts of nation building, which was delivered by the authorities of the nation in various areas.

In the capital of Mogadishu the SWDO ceremony for the occasion was held at the national theatre and the women of the 14 district of the Banadir Region were active participants. Also, in this ceremony, many high ranking party functionaries members of the social unions and diplomatic representatives of foreign nations attended.

SWDO chairperson Jaalle Fa-

duma Umar Hashi presented a detailed report concerning the accomplished tasks of their organization since its foundation.

Following this speech, was a play depicting the role of the Western Somali People in their de-colonisation struggle after which the Vice-president of the SDR, Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmiye Afrah delivered the closing speech concerning the required role of the somali women and in a narrative flashback illustrated the historical acts played by the somali women for the sake of nation building and defence of the mother land.

Statement by the Central Committee of SRSP

As is well-known towards the end of the 19th Century, the Kingdom of Abyssinia participated in the colonial scramble for Africa and the colonial occupation of parts of the Somali lands adding others to her Empire in 1948 and 1954, the territory generally known by the name Western Somali.

The people of these areas colonised by Abyssinia have struggled for their freedom and resisted Abyssinian colonialism just as other nations in Africa have fought for their freedom.

This struggle of the Western Somali people has passed through several stages and it has so intensified with the passage of time and because of the hardening intransigence of the successive Abyssinian regimes and their machinations that the Western Somali liberation movement has been able to liberate in 1977 most of the Abyssinian-occupied territories in its guerrilla fighting.

Throughout these prolonged struggle waged by the Western Som-

ali Liberation forces, the Somali Democratic Republic has always advocated that the cause of this people should be attained through peaceful means and mutual understanding. It is obvious to all how often and at how many venues the Somali Democratic Republic has demanded that Abyssinia should allow the colonised subjects under her rule the right to self-determination.

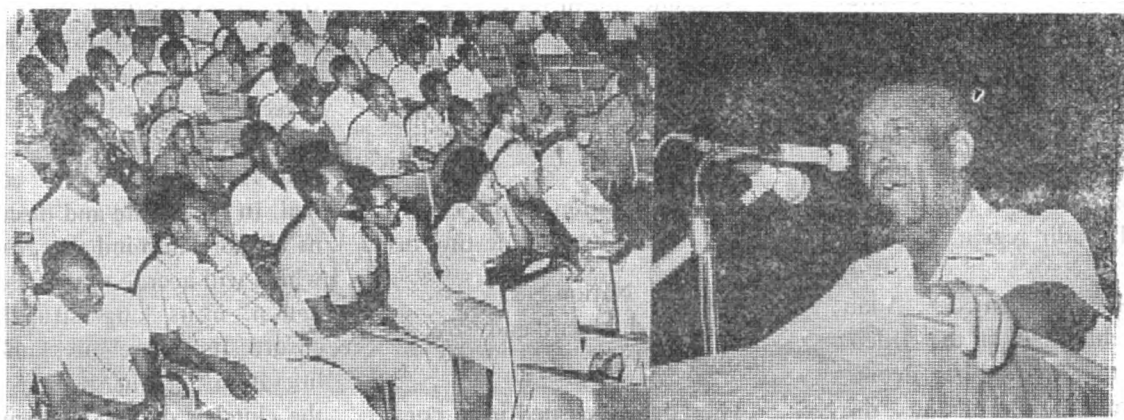
However, the successive Abyssinian regimes have consistently spurned all such pleas.

The Somali Democratic Republic, firmly believing that the people of Western Somalia are struggling for a just cause, has extended full support to them, as she has extended support to other liberation movements all over the world.

It followed that when the Western Somali people succeeded in overthrowing the Abyssinian colonialism, an alliance of the forces of foreign powers made a bid to crush their movement and exterminate the masses in the territory liberated by them. In addition to this, alliance has launched successive

(CONT. ON PAGE 29)

General Secretary's Report



The Secretary General of the SRSP addressing Party functionaries and government officials at the National Theatre.

The Secretary General of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP), President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, has always the habit of informing the nation about the critical period facing it and the basic duties expected from it in order that every individual will internalise the duties incumbent upon him.

On the night of 11th March an important meeting was held at the national theatre of the city of Mogadishu. This meeting was attended by high ranking government officials party Secretaries, and the party organization's.

The Secretary General of the SRSP delivered a report at the meeting dealing with the latest

information about the worsening situation in the Horn of Africa, and the necessary steps, undertaken by the SDR for solutions to the conflict.

Likewise, the President spoke about the various stands taken by different states on the question of the Horn. The President elaborated in detail the position taken by the superpowers. Further, he defined the stand of the national liberation fronts of Western Somalia by emphasising that they will continue their firm struggle which undoubtedly will be crowned with victory.

Furthermore, the Secretary General, Jaalle Siad spoke about the condition precedent of granting the inalienable right of the people in the area, that is

Western Somalia for self-determination, and emphasised the fact that this is the only viable solution based on peace and justice.

Moreover, Jaalle Siad, made special reference to those states and international organizations who comprehended the true nature of the issue of the Horn by courageously calling for the application of the principle of self-determination to the people of the area. The President told his audience about those states and international organizations who have supported the just stand of the SDR by concentrating all their efforts in just and peaceful solution of the problem. Thus, on behalf of the Somali nation the President offered his heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the afore said states

and organizations for their support of the just struggle of the Somali people.

The President remarked to his audience the need for extra vigilance in this critical period

which our nation is facing for the defence of our mother land, increasing production and alertness against maladministration and complications. The President concluded his speech by saying that «The

Somali people will overcome all difficulties facing them as they have done in the past through their vigilance, unity, perseverance and strengthening of their national sovereignty».

An interesting debate

Early in April, in the Central headquarters of the SRSP a debating seminar was held and it lasted four days. Taking part in this debate were members of the C.C. of the SRSP and party functionaries in the Central headquarters, who played a striking role. Also represented were functionaries from the social organization's Central headquarters, as well as secretaries of the Party committees in the 14 districts of Benadir region.

Comrade Mohamed Adan Sheikh, chairman of the Ideology bureau, opened the debate and chaired it throughout the 4 days it lasted. Comrade Moha-

med Adan in the opening ceremony gave a very comprehensive insight into the points the debate was to tackle and he gave a special importance to the situation obtaining in the Horn of Africa, and the historical roots giving rise to it.

The major points discussed comprised the following:

- 1) The situation in the Horn.
- 2) The unity and destiny of the Somali Nation.
- 3) Development and strengthening of Party tasks.

The debate ensued in a cordial and comradely atmosphere

and was built on a wide practice of democracy. Each and everyone amongst the participants expressed his views as he/she thought most suitable and fortunately there was no limit as to the time and scope of the arguments. For this reason a good number of the comrades present expressed their views, ideas and contributions, without feeling bound and controlled. In the debate and discussions all bore in mind the benefits which will accrue to the Somali nation, in its long struggle to ensure its sovereignty, and the liberation of its people from the clutches of colonialism and backwardness.

Nation wide support

Soon after the news of the abortive coup, by a small group of officers on April 9th, was heard party-committees and inhabitants in the various regions and districts of the country despatched messages of congratulations to the General Secretary of the SRPS Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and hence manifested their sorrow over the sinister attempt by few to cripple the October 21st Revolution which has saved the Somali people from the yoke of neo-colonialism.

The inhabitants of the regions and districts led by the party-committees also staged mass rallies to condemn the sinister move of the plotters and to express their unwavering support for the country's Revolutionary Government.

During the rallies, the masses, including workers, cooperative members, religious men and other sectors of the Somali society, demonstrated their Revolutionary spirit and carried placards

condemning the abortive coup and supporting the Revolutionary Government.

The mass rallies reflected the unity and integrity of the Somali people in these difficult times of Somalia's history. They also demonstrated the good and effective cooperation between the people and the party-committees. They further proved the confidence of the Somali people in their Revolutionary leadership under the guidance of Jaalle Mahamed Siad Barre.

Mass rally in support of the National Army

Thousands of Mogadishu's inhabitants encompassing all mass organizations staged a mammoth rally at Darawish square on the 12th of April - the

eighteenth anniversary of the foundation of the Somali National Army.

The mass rally manifested its staunch support for the So-

mal National Army during the celebration of the army on its 18th anniversary. The masses also declared their outright opposition, condemnation and an-

ger at the few officers and soldiers of the army who attempted a coup on the 9th of April to undermine the Revolution and demonstrated enthusiastically their unwavering support for the General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR, Jaalle

said, has earned the respect and confidence of the Somali people.

The President congratulated the Somali National Army on its 18th anniversary and wished them great success in their efforts to safeguard and defend the sovereignty and independence

people to be on the alert against all sinister moves of colonialism to cripple interests of the Somali people.

Representatives of various social organizations also read pledges of support and encouragement for the Revolutionary



The Secretary General of the SRSP, President Siad addressing the masses at the Darawish Park on 12th April.

Mohamed Siad Barre who also participated in the mass rally.

In an address to the huge rally, Jaalle Siad spoke at length of the October 21st Revolution, the role of the armed forces, particularly the Somali National Army, in its success, which, he

ce of the country.

Speaking of the abortive coup, Jaalle Siad said that it was engineered by a small group manipulated by foreign powers to undermine the revolution, destroy the interests of the Somali people and cause unnecessary bloodshed. He called on the

Government and the armed forces. A similar speech was delivered by a spokesman of the Somali National Army.

The masses carried slogans of support for the army and demonstrated their deep revolutionary spirit and patriotism.

The closing ceremony of the co-operative's seminar

On 15th April a ceremony was held at the National Theatre on the occasion of closing a one month seminar for the Co-operative Committee Members of the Benadir Region. The seminar was organised by the organisation that has been founded on January of this year.

The main objectives of this seminar have been to equip the committee members of the OSCM with skills required for enabling them to fulfill their tasks

as well as the promotion of the committee's political consciousness based on the class outlook of a socialist society.

This seminar, the first of its kind since the foundation of OSCM, whose objectives were as aforementioned, has been attended by members of fishing, quarries, lime, weaving, handicrafts, charcoal and Iron-monger's co-operatives.

During the course of the seminar the committee members

of the co-operatives have been engaged in the study of the statutes and programmes of the OSCM besides being oriented with the programmes of other social organisations for workers, women and youth.

Also, lectures concerning the general plan of the co-operatives, the promotion of the political consciousness of the committee members and the administration and statistics of the co-operatives have been presented

in the seminar.

The aim behind organising this seminar has been reached with success as the chairman of the OSCM declared and on this occasion the SDR Vice-President, Jaalle Major-General Hus-

and the cooperative's required role to contribute in the building of a new socialist society. The Vice-President of the SDR urged the co-operative committees to utilise their maximum technological and political knowled-

on the occasion of the ceremony in which he gave a detailed report about the present achievements and future aspirations of the cooperatives in the country.

On this closing ceremony, other Central Committee membe-



sen Kulmie Afarh closed the seminar.

In a speech on the occasion Jaalle Kulmie emphasized the revolution's objectives of creating the Organisation of the Somali Co-operative Movement

ge for overcoming their role of developing the economical productivity of the country.

Earlier, the chairman of the SRSP Bureau for co-operatives, Jaalle Warsame Abdullahi Ali, delivered a welcome speech

rs of the SRSP were also invited and all have been entertained by the nationalistic songs of the Revolutionary Flowers of Yaqshid District-one of the most promising under-aged artists in the Benadir Region.

The activities of the Youth Union

On 11th April several delegations of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union left on a tour to all the regions and districts of the country for inspecting the union's activities.

This inspection will go on for 3 weeks during which the delegations will put more emphasis on the inspection of matters such as:

1: The re-organisation of the regional and District committees of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union.

2: The new members and candidates of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union.

3: The presentation of a detailed dissemination of the Union's documentation and the method of using it.

4: The introduction of guidelines concerning the means and ways of improving the tasks of the union as well as the organi-

sation of Sub-committees to lead the branches of the union.

5: To ascertain the proper functioning of the student committees, the working youth, and the organisation of the Revolutionary flowers of October.

Preparation for the celebrations of 15 May.

On 18th April a tournament on various games among the 14 districts of the Benadir region has started at the people's Orientation centre of Boon-dheere district.

This tournament has been included in the preparatory programme of the SRYU for the celebration of 15 May.

This great day coincides with the first anniversary of the SRYU and marks the 35th anniversary of the Somali Youth League (SYL).

Thus for the celebration of this great May day the SRYU has prepared a programme com-

prising of rallies, ceremonies, games, seminars and literary work displays.

SYMPOSIUM OPENED

During this month of April the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union opened symposiums for the working youth, the Revolutionary flower of October, the student committees for the National University and the youth of the districts of Benadir region.

The symposium for student committees of the National University was Opened on 15.4.78 by the first vice-chairman of the SRYU also Acting chairman of the union, Jaalle Dahir Warsame Yusuf.

On this same occasion, the president of the National University, Jaalle Ibrahim Maxamud Abyan who attended at the opening Ceremony delivered a speech.

WORLD AFFAIRS



ISRAEL'S OBDURACY & THE M. E. PROBLEM

By Said J. Hussein

Day after day, it is becoming clearer and clearer to the world at large that the transigent policies followed by the Zionist Israeli government is the main obstacle on the way to achieving a permanent peaceful solution to the problem of the Middle East. Apart from its obstinate stand to withdraw from the Arab Lands it occupied in its aggressive war of 1967, and to admit the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their Homeland and establish a free and independent state of their own, the present Israeli government is bent on capturing more Arab lands and consolidating its grip on the new settlements in the face of the growing international protests and persuasions.

This is simply due to the expansionist policies firmly held by the present ruling «Likud» party under the leadership of Menachem Begin; a man notoriously remem-

bered for his inhuman atrocities which included the blowing up of «King David Hotel» in Jerusalem in 1964, and the massacre at «Deir Yassin» of 250 people including women and children.

Few years ago, the prospects for peace in the Middle East seemed brighter. The Arab right gained a massive international support and sympathy, the Palestinians captured unprecedented recognition including the UNO's, the Israeli aggression met with world condemnation, and the resumption of the Geneva conference to resolve the Middle East problem seemed not only possible but desirable. However, this hope did not materialise. The ascendancy to power in Israel by the «Likud» party crushed all prospects of a peaceful settlement.

The Arab countries, the Socialist states, and all the democratic, peace loving peoples in the world are unanimously agreed that the peaceful settlement of the M.E. issue presupposes that:

- Israel should completely withdraw from Arab lands it occupied in 1967;
- The Palestinian rights, represented by the PLO, should be recognised. A return to their homeland and the establishment of a Palestinian State.
- All the countries of the region should respect the territorial integrity of each other. All differences between them should be solved not by the use of arms but rather by peaceful political means.



P.L.O. Leader Yasir Arafat.

Israel's practical behaviour proves its categorical refusal of these essential points for the resolve of the M.E. problem. It considers its return to the 1967 border as tantamount to committing suicide. Moreover, it vehemently opposes the establishment of any Palestinian state and the PLO's legitimate representation of the Palestinian peoples. In short, Israel refuses to relinquish its expansionist policy aimed at realising the dream of a greater Zionist empire. President Sadat of Egypt, to rightly expel all fears and mistrust, flew to Jerusalem on November 1977 and met with Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of Israel. Unfortunately, this measure, instead of contributing to the settlement of the M.E. issue, only drove a wedge between the Arab frontline countries.

Israel, which has for a long time proclaimed that all the occu-



President Anwar Sadat of Egypt

pied Arab lands were originally Israeli country in accordance with the Holy Testament is not willing today to budge an inch. The inter-Arab rivalry and difference is another factor of capitulation by Israel. Other points that encourage Israel's abduity include:

- The disunity among the major frontline Arab states on whose responsibility falls the task of the liberation of the occupied lands from Israel.
- Egypt has not, since its expulsion of the Soviet experts, been able to secure a replacement that could either provide it with the necessary spare parts or new arms sales.
- The American Jews exert a great pressure on the White House lobby in favour of Israeli policies.
- The fact that no single Arab state can today militarily confront Israel by itself.

Begin's view point and future policy is based upon the perpetuation of this state of affairs in the Middle East in order to make his dream a reality. And the recent invasion



Israel's strong-headed Prime Minister Begin.



U.S. President Carter

of Southern Lebanon by Israel comes within the framework of this policy. If Israel was seeking revenge against the Palestinian guerrillas action which had taken place in Haifa weeks before, it should have done so inside its frontiers and not by way of violating the territorial integrity of a sovereign state — Lebanon. The ill-intention of Israel is obvious. It wants to counter the balance of forces in Lebanon and give military and material support to the right-wing reactionary forces in Lebanon and thus establish a puppet regime in that country which would fulfil the dictates of Washington and Tel-Aviv in the area.

Another important fact that immensely contributes to Israeli's stiff neckedness is the constant and consistent support it gets from the United States of America. The US government unequivocally believes that Israel is a reliable ally in the area that should not be let down under any circumstances. Illustrative of this truth is the fact that Egypt too has maintained a good relationship with the US for almost the last decade; it follows a line of policy quite opposed to the Soviet Union, and yet the US, despite its lip-service to the Egyptian's right to liberation, ironically go on

still debating in the White House if the few old F5s fighters planes to be sold to Egypt as against the more sophisticated F15s and F16s to Israel don't constitute a real danger to the security and the stability of the Middle East area.

Asserting that the sale of these planes to Egypt will in no way endanger the security of Israel, President Carter in a press conference held in the old executive Office Building, Washington on March 9, 1978 said: «I have no apology at all to make for this proposal. It maintains the military balance that exists in the Middle East. I can say without any doubt that the superior capabilities of the Israel Air Force compared to their neighbours is maintained, and at the same time, it reconfirms our own relationship with the moderate Arab leaders and nations for the future to ensure that peace can be and will be maintained in the Middle East».

In a nutshell, the imperialist — Zionist strategy in the Middle East is to arm and economically assist Israel so that its military superiority is maintained throughout so that it would check every progressive movement in the area that aspires to genuine freedom from the

domains of imperialism and its legacy of backwardness. So far this imperialist plan has made certain success; but surely, things will not continue along that order for long

There are many reasons for this: First of all, history has proved itself to be always in the side of the progressive liberation movements. A living testimony to this truth is the escalation of the Palestinian liberation struggle, the multiplication of its victories over such colossal enemy, as the Zionist — Imperialist alliance, and its daily operations in the hearts of Tel-aviv and Jerusalem. Secondly, Israel seems to be giving too much, to the internal Arab differences. These differences will eventually cease, and the numerical Arab superiority over Israel will with the forcing of time transformed into qualitative superiority Politically, Militarily, Economically etc.) over the enemy. And to there Likud's anti-historic, anti-logic policies of perpetual aggression and continual expansion which is definitely doomed to destruction.

This being the case in order to avert further damage to be inflicted by the arrogant, stubborn Israeli government, it is imperative that the Arab countries ought to realize that the occupied Arab territories can never be liberated by foreign mediation alone. The go

— between mission by the US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, in the Middle East is bound to have the same fate as his predecessors

— Junnar Yarring, William Rogers, Henry Kissinger. The decisive role lies with the Arabs.

The settling of their differences through a democratic dialogue, consolidation of the democratic forces in the Arab world, and the pooling at their immense resources, coupled with their solidarity cooperation with the progressive peace loving peoples in the world; these are the essential pre-requisite

for a final and irreversible victory of the Arab cause and concurrently for the permanent peaceful settle-

ment of the Middle East problem. Any other approach is nothing but ignis Fatumo.



Namibia: liberation soon to come

By: BOBE

Formerly known as South West Africa, Namibia was Officially renamed in June 12, 1968 by resolution of the United Nations General Assembly. It was a German colony from 1884 until 1915 when it became occupied by South African forces soon after the out break of world war I. After the war the territory was declared a Mandate of the League of Nations and its administration was entrusted to the then Union of South Africa.

As a «C» class mandate, it could be administrated by South Africa, but it could not be annexed. South Africa was instructed, under the terms of mandate, to «promote to the outmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory» and was required to submit annual reports to the league

Far from complying with the terms of the mandate, the South African government applied its criminal apartheid policies to Namibia notwithstanding indignations and protests expressed by majority of the UN member countries.

That is why on October 27, 1966, the United Nations General Assembly terminated, by it resolution No. 2145, the mandate granted to South Africa 46 years before and declared that henceforth South West Africa was to be regarded as the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

For the practical implmentation



Leader of SWAPO Sam Nujoma

of this resolution, the UN created in 1967 a UN council for Namibia composed of 11 members to arrange the transfer of power in Namibia to the UN. And in June 12, 1968 South West Africa was formally renamed Namibia. A relatively large but sparsely populated country, Namibia has a total land area of some 825,000 sq. kms.

It is strategically located in the South-Western corner of Africa and is bordered on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. Neighbours to the North are Angola and Zambia to the East Botswana, and to the South Africa.

Its main port, Walvis Bay is audiciously claimed as an integral part of South Africa.

Namibia is virtually a colony

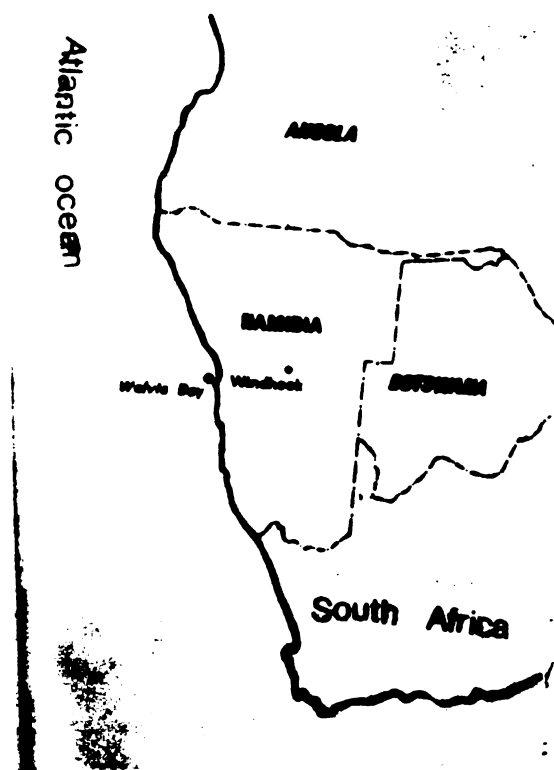
of the fascist regime of South Africa, gallantly struggling to liberate itself from the constant oppression and exploitation, perpetuated by the inhuman Pretoria dictatorship.

It is quite obvious that only a couple of decades ago when the majority of the African countries were engaged in a struggle for their political independence, the liberation Revolution carried by peoples of Southern Africa did not enjoy a wide publicity, as the case is nowadays, owing to the Western mass media's willful and deliberate ignorance of that struggle.

Today, with almost the whole rest of Africa's ascension to independence and with the escalation of the people's resistance to the racist regimes in Southern Africa Rhodesia and Namibia — the problem of Southern Africa, has captured the frontal headlines in the Western press.

The people of Namibia have been subject to one of the most abhorrent colonial domination. Unlike the rest of Africa, the Southern region, has been subject to settler colonialism, that put its grip upon the wealth and potentialities of these countries. Namibia is a country rich in agriculture, fisheries and mineral wealth of immense amount that the international imperialists cannot easily abandon. That is why they, the imperialists are concentrating on finding

ways and means of confronting the genuine national liberation movement of that country (SWAPO). Such imperialist methods as the use of foreign mercenaries or the direct military aggression seem to be somewhat futile in the perpetuation of their interests in Namibia today. SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) is today fighting in different conditions. Apart from the favourable



change in the international correlation of forces, the independence of Angola from Portugal and the accession of the MPLA to power in that country has definitely a positive impact upon the liberation struggle in Namibia.

We often hear international bodies, such as the UNO, OAU etc unanimously resolve the imposition of both severe political and economic sanctions against the racist regime in South Africa with the aim of bringing these regimes to their senses, but unfortunately to no avail.

That is why many people are puzzled how can such anachronist system be able to survive and grow in this tremendously changing World. To be able to answer this question correctly, one has to clearly understand the crux of the problem and the main factors responsible for its sustenance:

«The economy (of Namibia) is based on the country's natural resources — diamonds, copper, uranium. The mining industry, controlled by South Africa and multinational cooperation for its profitability on the large

African labour force. Fishing is second to mining as a foreign exchange earner. Agriculture is also important. Namibia is the World leading exporter of Karakul sheep pelts besides South Africa, Namibia's principal trade partners are the United States, West Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Japan.»

It is these principle partners of South Africa who demagogically pay lip-service to the liberation of Namibia but at the factively support South Africa in curb the struggle by SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibia people. To cite only one example that reveals the magnitude of the Western assistance to the Pretoria racist regime the modern (Apoutte), (pumpa) and «superhenix» helicopters, the Mirage fighters, the «Panhard» tanks used by the South African armed forces to repress the liberation movement in Namibia are all made in France, ironically a co-signatory of all the economic and military sanctions passed by the UN against the outlaw regime of Vorster.

In this light it is therefore, not surprising at all for South Africa

to repudiate no less than 80 resolutions passed by the United Nations all to the effect that South Africa's occupation Namibia is illegal and that it should withdraw from that country.

Yet with all these massive and assistance notwithstanding the Namibian resistance against the racist colonial rule has grown in leaps and bounds. SWAPO has found since its resort to armed struggle in the early sixties a reliable ally in the progressive and democratic forces in the World in all the military, political, economic, diplomatic and the cultural fields. This has been so effect, boosting the position of SWAPO to the extent that both the South African Government and its allies are trying to work out another formula for maintaining their interest in Namibia instead of the purely coercive military one.

The Bantustan policy is being put into practice in Namibia. the country is already divided into 11 ethnic «Homeland», each of which would have «limited powers of self Government under overall South African supervision. One such homeland comprising 45% of Namibia's total land area including the Kinaral etc allocated to the white minority population; the other 10 homelands, together comprising 55% of the land were each reserved for occupation by one of Namibia's «Non-white» groups. This is the land deemed as least productive by the South African Government.

This policy though will not pass time has changed, SWAPO has grown both in influence and political consciousness. Such a «Transkei» type of bogey is not acceptable to the people of Namibia MPLA, FRELIMO type is the path being followed by SWAPO which commands the vast majority support and backing inside the country. It will not stop at anything short of real independence

that would transform and uplift the socio-economic conditions of long oppressed and exploited masses of the country. The so-called turnhall multiracial constitutional conference arranged by the South African government, with the purpose of creating several mini-puppet states in Namibia met utter failure. It crashed the rock of massive boycott in the country and the denunciation by both the UN and the OAU.

The freedom struggle being wa-

ged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, is not a racial one based on the suppression of the white minority in the country; on the contrary it is a democratic and popular one the ultimate aim of which is to completely bring about the downfall and destruction of the S.A. colonial rule and with it the eradication of all forms of oppression and exploitation; the establishment of an anti-imperialist popular Government.

The language to Smith ?

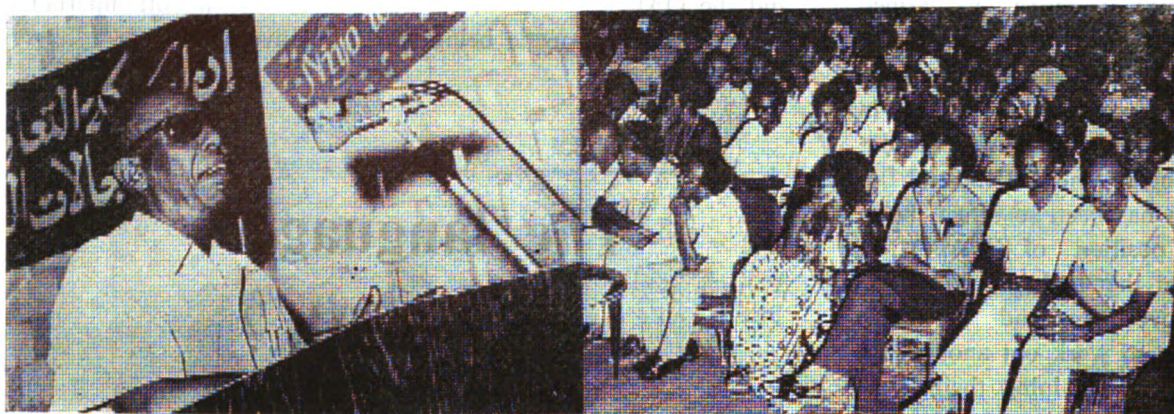
We are members of ZPRA
there we come armed,
and fierce,
With our brains we think
and plan with our guns,
Will plan and advance,
We have no time to waste,
There we come, with no second,
Of the hour in a year.
Will dare pass without,
The people, and achievements.
There we come, with weapons in
our hands
let the barrel of the gun bring freedom
and peace to all,
only through the gun,
That we see freedom for, there we
come, ragged and fierce,
Let the bom! sound of the gun
be our daily food till
Victory.
There we come,
Let dew be our daily water,
freedom is only born in the struggle
Let the blood of patriots paint
the revolutionary flag of Zimbabwe
Struggle continues
Through the gun Zimbabwe shall
be free, victory is Certain.

The Zimbabwe Reveiw No. 9/77

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Student's seminar closes



Jaalle Siad addressing the students from the Soviet Union

The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on 20th March closed a seminar for 312 students who returned from Russia and Cuba at the Police Academy in Mogadishu.

In the course of the seminar, the students were briefed on the current situation of the country and their role in the defence of the motherland.

The president, in a speech on the occasion, explained that these difficult circumstances could be overcome by unity, self-confidence and hard work. He congratulated the students on their high regard for the national interest and the decision to sacrifice their individual interest for the cause of the nation.

In opting to fully endorse their government's position in the wake of the deterioration of relations between our country and these states, the president said, the students have shown themselves to be true sons and daughters of their nation.

He added that their action would forever be remembered and assured them that they would be accorded every opportunity to complete their studies in the home and outside educational institutions.

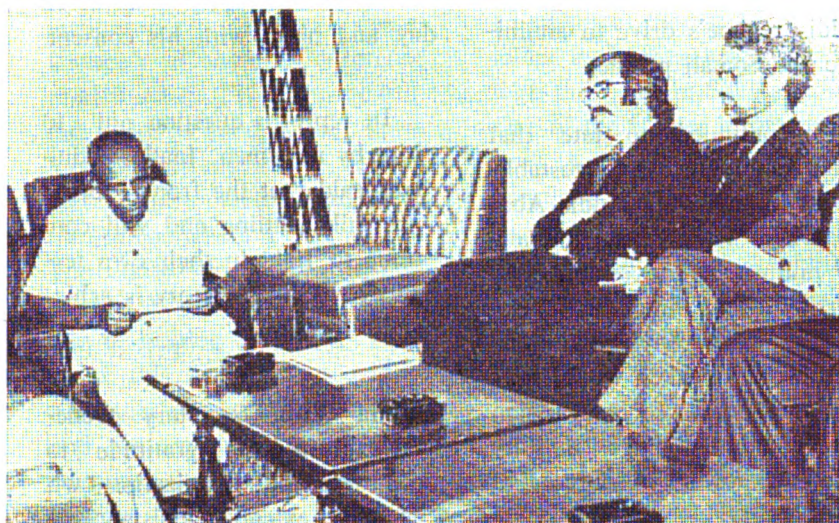
Jaalle Siad underscored the importance of academic advancement for the nation's socioeconomic and political development and the revolutionary Government's commitment to train the youth for the country's future leadership.

He pointed out that the country has achieved great successes in this field, thanks to the introduction of the Somali script which, he said, has made it possible to establish schools in the most remote parts of the country.

He continued that the nation has taken great strides in its pursuit of economic progress and self-reliance. «Our aim is to work for the improvement of our people's life through our own efforts» the president concluded.

Jaalle Siad stated that our foreign policy is geared to strict nonalignment and co-operation with other nations who respect our sovereignty.

U. S. delegation visit Somalia



Jaalle Siad receives the U. S. delegation

The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr. Richard Moose and a delegation accompanying him concluded a six day Official Visit to Somalia on the 23rd of March.

Mr. Moose told newsmen up on his departure that he had discussions on several interesting topics with the Somali Leaders during his stay. The result of which, he said, he will convey Jimmy Carter. He said that the resettled Communities which his delegation had visited, could be an outstanding example for the world.

The resettled Communities reflect how the Somali leaders under the dynamic leadership of President Siad are caring for their people, he said. Mr. Moose further declared that this step of Settling the nomadic people by the Somali Government is of great value for human being since these people have now already acquired a new way of life and of producing their food requirements.

Earlier, the visiting US Assistant Secretary of State for Af-

rican Affairs, Mr. Richard Moose, delivered a written message to President Mohamed Siad Barre of Somalia from the United States President Jimmy Carter. Jaalle Siad and Mr. Moose also discussed International Issues, particularly the Horn of African conflict.

Meanwhile, representative from the Somali Government and the United States signed on 20th March a credit agreement on food at the Central Bank headquarters in Mogadishu. The agreement provides for the delivery of 50,000 Tons of food at a cost of Seven Million U.S. Dollars to Somalia.

The Minister of Finance, Jaalle Mohamed Yuusuf Weyrah signed the agreement for the Somali Government while the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Richard Moose signed it on behalf of the U.S. Government.

Jaalle Weyrah said that the agreement will further strengthen relations between the two countries. The U.S. envoy, Mr. Moose, similarly expressed his appreciation of improving Somali-US relations.

Continued struggle for liberation

The Secretary General of the Abbo Liberation Front, Jaalle Mohamed Ali Rubey on 12th March declared that the front will continue to wage its war of liberation and that it is prepared for a prolonged bitter war against the unholy alliance of the enemy forces.

Speaking to a group of local and foreign newsmen in the front's headquarters in Mogadishu, Jaalle Mohamed Said that the fighting in the horn of Africa has entered a new phase.

He disclosed that the unholy alliance, led by Russia, which came to rescue the Abyssinian colonialists has experimented

its military might in the extermination of peoples fighting for their freedom and independence from Abyssinian colonialism.

The front's Secretary General declared that recent SDR Government's decision to withdraw its military units earlier sent to support the liberation forces, will not harm the peoples struggle for independence.

On the American attitude towards the situation in the Horn Jaalle Mohamed Said «the front demands from the U.S. government to clarify whether the human rights issue it fervently propounds is only confined to

those prisoners languishing in Russian jails or whether Carter's concern of this principle is also applicable to the rest of world, particularly those who, like the Abbo, Western Somali and Eritrean peoples, are struggling to regain their inalienable rights to freedom.

«If President Carter's concern about human rights is only a tactical manoeuvre then he must have consented tacitly and applauded the Russian move to exterminate those who are living under Addis Ababa's colonial rule, he pointed out.

The Abbo Front-Secretary General called on the OAU, the Arab League and all freedom loving peoples to support the Somali and Eritrean Fronts.

Similarly the Secretary General of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamoud Hassan on the 11th March, declared at a press conference that his movement would continue its struggle for the total liberation of their territory.

Jaalle Abdullahi declared that the recent SDR government decision to withdraw the units of its army earlier sent to support WSLF forces against the unholy allied forces, cannot stop the struggle of the Western Somalis for freedom. «Our is a war of liberation and the Western Somali people will continue their struggle until we drive the colonialists out of the last inch of our territory» he said.

The WSLF Secretary General said it is strange to see both big powers, the Russians and the American's siding with the Abyssinian colonialists to

deny the Western Somali people its right to free itself from colonialism and endorsing the Addis regime's drive to annihilate the Somali people.

He continued to state that American intention to reestablish its influence in Addis Ababa, where it had been the major military and economic patron for a long time, with a hope that Russo-Abyssinian relations would weaken would never materialize since the Russian have committed huge military and manpower resources in that country.

The American government would come to realize its mistake when the Russians bring the whole of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean zones under its domination. The WSLF leader wondered whether president Carter's often declared support for human rights does not include

those of the western Somali and Abbo peoples who are being barbarously massacred day and night with his consent

In reply to question put to him by newsmen, Jaalle Abdullahi said that the front forces are still battling and will continue to fight in their own territory till final victory is achieved.

The WSLF Secretary General expressed his gratitude to countries and organizations which have extended assistance to the fronts and appealed to them for more help in their rightful struggle against colonialism. He also called on the rest of the world community to recognize and support the just cause of the Western Somalis who are fighting for their basic human dignity and rights to freedom.

Anti-Apartheid Year

1978 marks the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; 1978 also marks the 30th anniversary of the coming to power of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The United Nations General Assembly has resolved that 1978 should be observed as International Anti-Apartheid Year, starting on March 21st, the date which commemorate the massacre in 1960 in the town of Sharpeville of African peacefully demonstrating against the infamous «pass laws», one of the most detested instruments of apartheid.

The purpose of the United Nations in establishing this anti-

apartheid year is to bring to the attention of the world the inhumanity of apartheid, the evils of apartheid, and by mobilizing public opinion it is hoped this would bring some pressure on the South African Government to change its ways, and that moral pressure would be brought on the particular governments which help South Africa to change their policies.

Apartheid is a matter of human rights, and as such is a major concern of UNESCO's Human Rights Division. Anticipated contribution by the UN of this field to anti-apartheid year, can be summarised as follows; Apartheid has for at least a generation occupied the

central position of international efforts to bring about the implementation of human rights. Unesco's General Conference reaffirmed in 1976 that apartheid seriously hinders the development of education, science culture and communication in the regions where it is practiced. The educational organization of the UN pays particular attention to helping the direct victims of this system in providing assistance through fellowships and so on to refugees from countries under apartheid; as regards the division of human rights and peace, it has tried to approach the problem in all of its ramifications including the analysis of apartheid as one of the greatest challenges to peace and international security as well the most flagrant example of systematic and massive violations of human rights.

The UN specialized agency on education, scientific and culture has from its creation worked on the problem of international tensions created by the existence of racism and racial discrimination and is about to prepare a universal declaration on racism and racial prejudice. In this declaration, apartheid is singled out as a crime against humanity. There are other international human rights documents that the UN seeks to promote; the most important of which, with regard to apartheid, is the international convention on the elimination and repression of the crime of apartheid which was adopted in 1973. However the work of the Human Rights Division goes beyond these international instruments. In order to provide the in-depth analysis of social science which is required for the understanding of the problem of apartheid in education, science, culture and information and special books and

information documents on apartheid in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South Africa, Namibia and other works dealing with the press in South Africa. One of the studies in preparation now concerns the effects of apartheid on the conditions of women in South Africa and Rhodesia; but from the human rights point of view, the existence and the perpetuation of apartheid, of a regime which systematically denies the equality of human beings, is a major challenge to the credibility of all international action in favour of human rights.

«The Somali nation has consistently supported the just struggle of the people of South Africa against the Racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury» so stated Colonel Abdulkadir Haji Mahamed, the Chairman for Mobilisation Bureau.

He was speaking at a ceremony marking the end of a week dedicated to the struggle against apartheid and Colonialism held at the workers Hall on 20th March.

He also touched on the Somali Struggle for Independence and Unity.

Youth anniversary observed

The establishment of the Revolutionary Youth Centres is marked in the SDR on the 26th of March annually. The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre paid an inspection visit to the Revolutionary Youth Camps of Afgoi and Lafole. In speech at the Girls Revolutionary Youth Camp of Afgoi, the President congratulated the youth on the 8th anniversary of the establishment of these camps.

He spoke about the aims behind the establishment of these camps, which he said was to create an honest revolutionary youth for the development of the country. «That these camps have been successful can be illustrated by the responsible, efficient and hard working youth which they have produced», the President pointed out.

Earlier, President Siad sent a congratulatory message to all the students in the Revolutionary Youth camps throughout the country on the occasion of the anniversary celebrations.

Meanwhile the SDR Vice-President Jaalle Hussein Kulmie Afrah participated in a ceremony held at the Lafole Centre of the Revolutionary Youth to mark the 8th anniversary of the establishment of Revolutionary Youth Centres.

The ceremony was also attended by party Bureau's Chairmen, Ministers and other Central Committee functionaries.

Addressing the audience on the occasion Jaalle Kulmie congratulated the Revolutionary Youth in the name of the President, Jaalle Siad. The Vice President said that the main aim behind the establishment of the camps were to promote the welfare of the homeless and helpless children so as to bring them up into a well educated politically oriented youth who could be of great value to both themselves and the society, at large.

He continued that the government has tried all in its power to bring forth a devoted and de-

dedicated youth, and gov't efforts in this area, he added, has already borne fruits. Jaalle Kulmie stressed that it is a declared policy of our revolutionary government to train the youth for the future leadership and advancement of the nation.

He stated that the youth are obliged to repay the care and dedication bestowed on them by dedicating themselves to the implementation of the objectives as enshrined in the Party Programme. Adding that the establishment of the Revolutionary Youth Camps had been effected with the cooperation of the public and disclosed that more camps would be set up in other areas where they had not been already founded.

Groups from the Revolutionary Youth Camps of Afgoi and Lafole ceremoniously laid down wreaths at the Sayid Mohamed Dhagah-Tour, Hawo Tako and the unknown Soldier Monuments in Mogadishu.

On the occasion of the anniversary celebrations similar celebrations marking the eight anniversary of the founding of these camps were also held in the different regions of the country.



Jaalle Siad celebrating with the revolutionary pioneers on the occasion of 26th March.

Statement on the situation in Horn of Africa

For the last 9 months the international community has been witnessing with increasing concern the unfolding of one of the most brutal and fierce wars fought in modern times in the Horn of Africa. This war of liberation, which has been going on for over a Century was being conducted, on the one hand by the Liberation Fronts of Western Somalia and Abbo and on the other by the combined forces of Cuba the Warsaw Pact and Abyssinia.

The heroic and gallant freedom fighters of Western Somalia and Abo were in this war capable and able to free over 97% of their territory from the colonial, repressive regime of Addis Ababa, after meting to the enemy forces an ignoble defeat and virtually destroying its regular army. In the face of this disastrous situation and certain annihilation, the Abyssinian ruling military regime sought as the only means available for their survival the commitment

of foreign mercenary forces to conduct the fight on their behalf. This is nothing new or strange in Ethiopian history. It is well-known fact that successive Abyssinian regimes have used the rule of involving and employing extra-Africa forces whether it was made in defence of the so-called «Chritian Island in Muslim Sea» that was Abyssinia upto the first half of this Century, or in the name of socialist solidarity whenever and wherever they were defeated by

the peoples languishing under the colonial yoke.

This time around, the present regime succeeded in bringing in its defence over 20,000 Cuban and Warsaw Pact Forces, and over one billion US Dollars of sophisticated weaponry, which its armed forces could not use for obvious reasons to crush the liberation forces both in Western Somalia and Abo.

At the same time ashamed and embarrassed to admit its complete defeat in the military field by the liberation forces, it found it more palatable to use the Somali Democratic Republic as the scape-goat for such a failure. What is now the situation one may ask? Does the Abyssinian regime believe that the foreign forces stationed in Western Somalia and their temporary presence there shall keep the people of the region under permanent subjugation? Do they really think that they can permanently silence or completely eliminate the concerned peoples quest for independence and self-determination? Don't they see the hopelessness of their feeble dream of maintaining intact the so-called «Ethiopian Empire».

It is obvious from all historical evidence that no force, however mightily, can stop the will and genuine aspiration of peoples to attain their freedom and independence, no matter how great is their sacrifice in blood and human life. Thus, the military intervention of the foreign forces shall not assure any measures of stability for the fascist military junta of Mengistu nor shall their presence contribute towards a just and permanent solution to the problem. How surprising it is to hear of the brazen and shameful statements that are being made lately by Addis Ababa on victory and defeat when the whole world knows

that their own troops could not bear the blast of the Liberation forces that foreign troops that came from hundreds of thousands of miles away fought on their behalf and that if they occupy today any liberated territory, it is thanks to those foreign troops who cleared the way for them.

No doubt the cause of the people of Western Somalia and Abo has attained international recognition and support and the efforts of the Abyssinian regime aimed at reducing the issue to a quarrel between them and the Somali Democratic Republic is a gross and callous attempt to mislead international public opinion, for none can be deceived by the hue and cry raised by Addis Ababa when the international community is fully aware of who dictates its orchestrated baseless propaganda and the objectives, aims and interests behind this smokescreen.

On its part, the Somali Democratic Republic, apart from its obligations under the OAU and UN charters, to support all peoples fighting for their liberation from the colonial yoke, is morally bound to assist and support its brethren in Western Somalia and Abo, and shall never waiver in its determination to do so until these peoples are given full expression of their legitimate right to freedom and independence.

In this context, it must also be pointed out that the necessary conditions conducive to a just solution of the problem must be created. The intransigent and arrogant attitude adopted and the out-right rejection of all initiatives taken in this direction by friendly countries and the international community as a whole by the Abyssinian regime will only further heighten the tension in the region.

The Somali Democratic Republic considers it, however, essential as stated by Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the SDR on 8th March, 1978, that the basis for any solution to the Horn of Africa problem must include the following fundamental elements:

1. The withdraw of all Foreign troops from Western Somalia.
2. The presence of neutral forces in the territory so as to stop the on-going genocide and reprisals that are being committed by the occupying Abyssinian forces.
3. The recognition of the right of the people of the territory to full independence.
4. Negotiations through the OAU.

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Spokesman

A spokesman for the SDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs described the recent allegation by the Abyssinian junta on the 26th of March, 1978 as unfounded and mendacious.

As the whole world knows

the SDR has always been staunchly supporting Djibouti achieve full independence and sovereignty, the spokesman said and added that Somalia has made known such a view at all international conference, particularly

at the UNO, the OAU, the Arab League, the Non-aligned nation's conference and at Islamic and other conferences.

The spokesman declared that the independence of Djibouti has consistently been opposed by the successive Abyssinian regimes. He said that Abyssinian colonialism is notoriously known for its expansionist policy and the suppression of freedom and the denial of the right to self-determination of colonised peoples and went on to say that it has lustily looked forward to the day when it would be able to swallow Djibouti.

«This is amply borne out by the stand of the Abyssinian regime in 1976 towards that country at the UNO,» the spokesman declared and continued that «the Abyssinian government was alone in opposing Djibouti's independence».

He said that the SDR was the first country to recognise Djibouti on its attainment of independence on 27th June last year. Moreover, Somalia, he stressed, has participated with great solemnity in the celebrations held to mark Djibouti's independence. «Throughout the SDR, the occasion was observed and it was a great holiday, the festivities of

which were shared by all Somalis with the keenest joy», he noted.

Having failed in its efforts to block Djibouti's independence, the spokesman disclosed, the Addis junta right from the very day that the former French colony achieved its freedom, has resorted to the new political tactic of fomenting instability and political chaos in that country and the creation of disunity among the citizens of Djibouti.

The bomb explosions in Djibouti in 1977, were, for example blamed on the Abyssinian junta by no less a person than the President of the Republic of Djibouti, he said.

The spokesman declared that the SDR government is in the possession of information that the Addis regime is presently training an army of mercenaries with an eye to creating political confusion in Djibouti. Somalia is also well aware, he said, that there are some foreign governments that are giving military training to some citizens of Djibouti with the purpose of creating an instable political situation that would lead to the up rising of power from the present established government of the Republic of Djibouti by some elements favourable to these foreign governments.

«Abyssinia is spreading the lie that Somalia has sent to Djibouti the troops it has recently withdraw from Western Somalia. This cheap propoganda is meant to cover Abyssinia's designs and expansionist policy towards Djibouti», the spokesman emphasized.

He further declared that it is well-known that Somalia recognized Djibouti on its attainment of independence and that it has established an embassy there such propoganda, therefore, is an insult to the sovereignty and dignity of the government of Djibouti.

«Of late, the Abyssinian regime is making an attempt to link the cause of Western Somalia and the relations of government between the SDR, on the one hand and the Republic of Djibouti and the Kenyan government on the other hand», he said and added that this is aimed at finding an excuse for colonizing the Western Somali territories and creating misunderstanding between neighbouring countries

«The only thing that can be said on such a behaviour is that Abyssinia is violating the respect that is due to these countries national sovereignty and that she is doing so as if she were expressing their interests, «the spokesman concluded.

Cables dispatched

The president of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare on 2nd of April sent cables to the secretary general of the U.N. Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the current Chairman of the OAU Omar Bongo of Gabon, and Nigerian Head of state, Lt General Olusegun Obasango to brief them on the latest developments

of the situation in the Horn of Africa.

In his cable, the president expressed his honour to bring to their excellencies' attention that on 31st March 1978 Ethiopian planes twice raided the Somali village of Kalabeyd near Hargeisa in North-Western region

causing death and destruction. The cable continued; this follows in the wake of the Ethiopian statement earlier that they will attack Somalia in reprisal for Western liberation front operation in their territory. This act of desperation is a product of their bitter disillusion over the failure of foreign interven.

tionist forces to destroy the liberation movements. In the tradition of colonial oppressors they have now followed the example of the Rhodesia minority clique and the zionists by resorting to open aggression against Somalia in the hope that this may help divert international attention from real issues at stake.

This fresh aggression is a clear indication of resolve on part of Addis-Ababa regime and its mentors to invade Somali territory in the vain hope of western Somali and Abbo peoples. Such dangerous action will only bring about further escalation of conflict and direct confrontation.

The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic has in the past shown ample good will in seeking a peaceful solution to the problem. It heeded the appeals of World leaders by withdrawing units of its forces only recently introduced into the area in order to pave the way for withdrawal of all extra African forces and create a climate conducive to negotiation.

This peace gesture has not been reciprocated by the other side. On the contrary as shown by their action and words they have assumed a more rigid, uncompromising and aggressive attitude. Ethiopia's ill-advised naked aggression against the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic will not intimidate the Somali people. It can only strengthen their resolve to increase their support to the liberation movements for the realization of their human aspirations.

The core issue is that of extending the right of self-determination to the people of Western Somalia, Abbo and others

colonized by Ethiopia. Unless this right is recognized and fully exercised, the prospects for peace will remain slender. Ethiopia is therefore under international obligation to express its readiness to respect the fundamental rights of peoples under her domination.

The current Ethiopian policy of aggression will only serve to contribute to the heightening of tension. It will neither help the cause of peace nor of stability in the region. If such acts are not terminated Somalia will have no alternative but to take drastic counter action.

Under such circumstances Ethiopia and its allies will have

to bear full responsibilities for the consequences which will necessarily follow. In addition, if peace is to be attainable in the area it is incumbent upon the OAU and the World community to insure the immediate departure of all foreign forces in the area since their continued presence there will always encourage aggression and intransigence. While reaffirming our commitment to peace, progress and unity of Africa, «I take this opportunity to extend to your excellency the assurances of my highest consideration and regard», concluded President Siad in his cable.

Coup attempt foiled

The General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre disclosed here today that at about 4 A.M. this morning a group of officers and soldiers attempted to stage a coup but were overpowered by the loyal armed forces.

Speaking to the nation over Radio Mogadishu, Jaalle Siad said that it was unfortunate to see after nine years of orientation for national unity and promotion of national aspirations there were still in our midst some foreign agents hired to cause destruction and bloodshed within our society.

The President, however declared that these traitors who attempted to overthrow the government were crushed by the army and arrested. He said that they would be brought before

a court of Justice and would be dealt with in accordance with country's laws.

The President called for national unity and urged all the Somali people to be calm and be vigilant against those imperialist hirelings militating against the national unity.

Jaalle Siad said imperialism in its many faces was spreading propaganda against Somalia that the country was in economic and political crisis in an effort to cause confusion disorder and destruction in the country. But imperialist conspiracy and intrigue would be foiled said the President, our nation would march forward.

Jaalle Siad once again called on the Somali people to strengthen their unity so as to defeat imperialist conspiracy and intrigues.

A day of international significance

Comrade Lenin Vladimir Ilyuch Ulyonov was born in the 21st April 1870 in a town called Simbriska in Russia.

At a young age, Lenin made a thorough study of the science of socialism formulated by K. Marx and F. Engels. He later elaborated that science, developed it in theory and embodied it in the Russian Revolutionary party. It was this revolutionary party with the socialist outlook and strictly adhering to the Leninist principles of organisation that led the alliance between the progressive forces in Russia to stage the first and greatest socialist revolution, that swept the abominable Czarist rule and its moribund system for ever.

Lenin had correctly understood early that this world could only rid itself of repression, exploitation, poverty, and aggression if the working class in the world seize the political power in their respective countries, of course under the leadership of their vanguard revolutionary parties. That is why he set down to work laboriously on the essential principles of party life, its structure, its organisation, its tasks in order to destroy the capitalist system and establish a system of a new and by far superior order — the socialist system.

The developing countries which have recently won their political independence are confronted by many difficult and complex problems that impede their smooth development.

One such problem is the question of nationalities and that just right to self determination.

Comrade Lenin has worked out the correct solution to this



Lenin: Liberated the workers

complicated problem based on the socialist principles and in full conformity with the interests of the vast majority of working masses. Amongst the greatest achievements of the Russian revolution was the way it had been able to smoothly and successfully solve the problem of the nationalities which was very acute under the Czarist rule.

Lenin had indeed displayed as unsurpassed in tackling this problem through a revolutionary democratic and humanistic way.

A thorough study of the Leninist approach to the question of nationalities, coupled with a sound understanding of how this question has been further complicated by the colonial powers that arbitrarily seized and administered the countries of the 3rd world, will reveal that it is the only method worth following.

Any other approach from a big country or a small one, from a political party or any other organisation, from a group of people or an individual to solve the problem of nationalities and guarantee their right to self-determination is absolutely doomed to utter failure. History as usual, will definitely reveal the fallacy of any other method adopted for the solution of this problem. Lenin has long made it that all oppression, whether it be that of a nation on another, or a country on another is a result of a class struggle where a minority group yielding power are trying to perpetuate their selfish interests at the expense of the toil of the oppressed masses.

It therefore naturally follows from this that the remedy lies in the overthrow of this small class by the majority — the peoples — All other means have so far proved futile.

The struggle being waged by the oppressed peoples of Somali West, Abba and Eritrea is in line with the teaching and principles of Lenin. They don't only suffer from class oppression which they share with the Ethiopian working masses but they are also subject to a national one by virtue of their distinct nationalities.

Today, when the 108th birth day of the Great Lenin is being Commemorated throughout the world, it is a matter of pride and pleasure for us to join those who believe in those principles in the celebration of this jubilee. Leninism shall for ages to come be the torch for all the workers and oppressed people struggling for their total freedom.

The leader highly commends the National Army

The General Secretary of the SRSP and president of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre tonight sent warm congratulations to all members of the national army on the occasion of the 18th Anniversary of the foundation of the national army the 12th of April.

Addressing the nation over the radio, the President wished the national army success in carrying out their national duties and serve their people, who accord them great respect, for their dedication and great zeal.

«I am confident that you will always serve your people, fulfill their aspirations, defend their dignity and independence», Jaalle Siad said.

He said that the national army is known for being the vanguard of its people in defending its dignity and interests.

«The army has always fulfilled its obligations to its people and its accomplishment are remarkable and not obscure for they have always served well their people», he said.

The president added that the national army is from the people, belongs to the people and will belong to them.

Commenting on Sunday's abortive coup by the small group who were serving foreign powers, Jaalle Siad disclosed that the puppet group killed 20 persons wounded 34 others and destroyed few military vehicles, equipment and weapons.

He further said that the Somali army, which countered the plotters, employed every effort to avoid bloodshed and have, in an intelligent way, captured most of them except a few who

fled away and are being hunted down.

«The national army which countered these hirelings were being motivated by their national duties and obligations as was usual for them in the past, whenever the country was faced by a difficult situation.» the president said.

He said that the aim of the puppet group was to exploit this difficult period which the country is experiencing to hand over the country to foreign powers who have bought them

and to disrupt its stability and peace.

The president added that the aim of these foreign powers is to undermine the progress of the Somali people and destroy its self-confidence and unity.

In conclusion, the president declared that any conspiracy against the country hatched by foreign powers will be foiled as Sunday's attempted coup was crushed and that the Somali nation is prepared to defend and safeguard the achievements of their Revolution.

President Siad visits China



Jaalle Siad, Comrade Feng and Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor at the Peoples House.

The Secretary General of the SRSP Jaalle Mahamed Siad Barre and a high level delegation accompanying him paid an official visit to the peoples Republic

of China from April 14th to 19th.

The presidential delegation included Vice-President, Jaalle

Brig.-General Ismail Ali Abokor, Chairmen of the SRSP Bureaus, Ministers and high ranking Government officials.

The president and his delegation were accorded warm reception at Peking Airport upon arrival by Chairman Hua Kuo Feng, Vice-Premiers Li Hsien-Nien, and Keng Piao, foreign minister Huang Hua, Deputy chief of staff of General staff of the Chinese peoples liberation Army Chang Tsai-Chien and other leading members of the Chinese Party and Government.

The grand welcoming ceremony for the President and his delegation was also attended by foreign diplomats in Peking and thousands of welcoming crowds waving the flags of the two countries, chanting «Long live the friendship between the Chinese and the Somali peoples».

The crowds cheered as the president's plane touched down in Peking and as he alighted from the plane amid a warm applause. Jaalle Siad accompanied by chairman Hua Kuo Feng, reviewed a guard of honor made up of men of the ground naval and airforces of Chinese people's liberation Army.

At a banquet which was held at the Great Hall of the people and attended by Chinese Party and Government officials and foreign diplomats, President Siad delivered a speech in reply to senior vice-premier Li Hsien-Nien's earlier.

At the outset the President took the opportunity to express appreciation and thanks for the enthusiastic and cordial welcome and the generosity of the hospitality extended to him and his delegation on this visit to China, a land so great and cele-

brated, the land of the People's Republic of China with a glorious and sublime history.

President Siad congratulated personally Comrade Hua Kuo Feng on his recent appointment as the premier of the state council, the conclusion of the fifth National People's Congress, as the visit coincided within the wake of the completion of the work of the fifth Congress.

Speaking on economic assistance, he expressed gratitude to the leaders of the P.R.C. in their tireless efforts to render the developing countries and in particular Somalia, vital economic assistance. And added; «I wish, also to commend the role of the Chinese experts in Somalia for the dedication, hard-work and sincerity they have shown in fulfilling their tasks and their general behavior with our people. It is well known that these admirable qualities not only win the hearts of the Somali people but also those of other developing countries.

This, will, indeed help to further consolidate the cooperation between the two peoples of China and Somalia. In this connection I would like to once again place on record our heartfelt gratitude for the selfless and remarkable assistance given to us by the Government of the P.R.C. in many fields seen as the back bone of our economic and social development. Of course, these achievements in our relations would have been impossible if our relations had not been based on correct principles of full respect for sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, cooperation for peace and freedom for all». President Siad continued, that the militant relations existing between China and Somalia would not have been realized without

the sound and dynamic party leadership by which the great Chinese people are being led forward in modesty but not servility with pride but not arrogance and with confidence but not complacency.

On the situation in the Horn of Africa he high-lighted the naked aggression committed against the freedom-loving Somali people in this troubled region of Africa.

«In its attempt to defy the Western Somali Liberation cause the Soviet Union, not only denied the Western Somali people's right to self determination and legitimate armed struggle, but also armed their colonizer Abyssinia with the most sophisticated weapons. The Soviet and their lackeys did not stop there, since the front's forces were adamant in their struggle and since the Ethiopian army proved no match to the gallant forces of the front, the Soviet Union and its lackeys had to intervene by air-lifting massive weapons and combat soldiers to the area. It goes without saying that this wanton interference, on the part of the USSR, utterly contradicts the very principles that the Soviet Union professes to champion, the socialist principles attributed to promote the cause of liberation movements and suppressed progressive forces».

Jaalle Siad reaffirmed that the war of liberation by the western Somali Liberation Front will continue and no power will avert the down fall of the Ethiopian Empire which has no place in the socialist ideology which Abyssinia falsely claims. No peaceful settlement can, therefore, be meaningfully achieved unless the right of self-determination is exercised by the people of Western Somalia and

other people under Ethiopian colonialism, under the auspices of the OAU, Arab league and the UN. «It is also of crucial importance that Soviet and Cuban forces, the presence of which constitute a most destabilizing factor in the region, are withdrawn from the scene» he added.

Speaking on international issues; the red sea he said is an important waterway and should therefore, be a zone of peace so that it could benefit the interests of the littoral states and the World in general. With regard to the Indian Ocean the Somali

Government maintains that it also be a zone of peace and not an Ocean of confrontation.

On the middle East question the Somali Government urges the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories while at the same time it calls for the realization of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine including a homeland and a state of their own, he stated.

In conclusion President Siad reiterated that the Government and people of the SDR com-

mend the vanguard role played by the Government and people of the P.R.C. in effectively participating the wars of liberation as well as economic, social and political emancipation of the people of the third world.

During the delegation's stay in China the SDR and the P.R.C. signed an economic and technical cooperation agreement between the two countries in Peking.

The Presidential delegation wound-up their five day official visit to China on the 19th of April 1978.

(Cont. from Page 9)

air-bombardments on some regions of the Somali Democratic Republic. Such air-raids have caused the death of numerous innocent civilians and heavy economic loss to the country.

Such wanton aggressions against the Somali Democratic Republic by the allied foreign forces had obliged the Somali Democratic Republic to decide on sending some units of her forces to support the Western Somali Liberation Movements.

In view, however, of the proposal of the big powers to settle the crisis of the Horn of Africa peacefully and to withdraw all foreign forces from the region and call upon the SDR to recall its units, as these big powers have promised the right of self-determination for the people of Western Somalia should be respected.

The Central Committee of the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party has passed a resolution that the SDR should recall its units from the front. In this light the government of the SDR

calls upon the big powers to insure:

1. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Horn of Africa.

2. The recognition by the parties concerned and the exercises of the right to self determination by the people of Western Somalia.

3. Urgently initiate the process for bringing about a peaceful, just and lasting negotiated settlement to the conflict of the Horn of Africa.

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THE SRYU ON THE OCCASION OF 15TH MAY — THE YOU-

TH DAY AND THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDA-

TION OF THE SRYU.



CULTURE AND ART

PEOPLE AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

by Rashid Sh. Abdillahi

The Somalis of antiquity — if that is the right term — were not fortunate to have a general systematic knowledge of their natural environment and specifically with respect to the one under which they lived. The conceptual legacy transmitted to us regarding a balanced and integrated theory on geography is lacking.

However, they did have life knowledge and experiences welded to practical tasks. Anything beyond this which relates to the interpretation of diverse phenomena, and the replaced processes of climatic condition in the areas inhabited, were attributed to a supernatural force of legendary tales.

An illustration of this is evidenced by the Somali nomads' early recognition that if a place is inhabited too long a period, and then it gets rain, the likelihood will have minimised nutritional value to livestock. Accordingly the quality of the animals' supper, and the possibility of herds becoming infected with ectoparasites, i.e. ticks and such like, are heightened.

Somali nomads through practical experience conversely concluded that if a place is left fallow for fairly a long period, and livestock does not browse in the area most probably grass gains in quality and its nutritional value to livestock hence increase there by animals and their greater yield both in terms of meat and milk. Ectoparasites and biting insects also become extinct in such areas, and therefore animal diseases become a rarity. The

condition where settlement and movement is excessive is called «Oolimaad-settlement» in some regions, whereas in others it is termed «Ugbaad».

This example is meant to convey that the knowledge of this type does not go beyond the life experience of a nomadic, pastoral, setting. In English parlance the term practical knowledge denoted this life's scope, and in Arabic «El kibra-Imaliya» is the best terminology to be given to it. This knowledge has not been arrived at by social scientists' intensive research, thus is not grounded on the methodology of analysis, synthesis and criticism on the basis of comparing and contrasting the ecological quality and variability of settlement.

In the same way there were not researchers who scientifically probed and surveyed the various kinds of biting insects which carried multiple diseases which their livestock became afflicted with. Their knowledge of animal diseases emanated from the simple involvement in pastoral life, and their endeavours to avoid hazards, while at the same time absorbing and adopting the beneficial aspects.

As it is the theoretical legacy inherited by adopting from our forefathers, as above enumerated stems from those practical oriented experiences and accordingly did not attain a level of scientific knowledge. This is not surprising in as much as the level of social development of a pastoral and livestock rearing community not yet fully emerging from the early level of communal ownership, with its primitive form

of social division of labour and production exchanges invariably dictated the lack of educationally qualified people specialising only in search. As it is, it was not possible for society to give rise to a social group devoted only to scientific research in all its multiple branches, and the setting up of institutions dedicated to scientific knowledge.

Human societies have all travelled this self-same stage and today in certain parts of the world it still survives though advanced science and technology closes the gulf, and thereby renders the continuing existence of primitive society almost impossible. However as has been made clear (16th issue of Halgan) the primitive stage of social development is too intimate a part of our present which cannot be washed away.

Admitting that the Somali society's legacy in earlier periods with regard to natural surroundings within which they lived is not to be directly found in written form, yet we do not mean to imply that our ancestors did not address themselves to the problem.

The fact remains that written materials were first excluded by the lack of a script and secondly the historical conditions baselining our people made a comprehensive study of a meticulous nature improbable to be carried out.

The Somali people's ability to perceive and sense their natural surroundings, and the struggle waged against nature, and to the extent they were able to tame it, and

their adaptation, to it are all to be seen in our folklore literature which always has been culturally an intimate aspect of their life. This literature is not one directly dealing with the nature of the land, the air, the cold and the hot seasons, the rainy seasons, drought, etc. Notwithstanding all the, facts is in the majority of cases literature did not take up the above issues. If at all it did happen that some known poets mentioned them in their poetic recitations as certain lines indirectly impinge on natural environment, yet this rather rare. By indirect we mean that the lines hinting at nature were mainly created to convey and other completely different meanings, and are included simply on a simile rational (1) As an example the following lines of the late Abdillaahi Sultan Tima Adde» are enlightening:

God eternal

The day we become feeble
And the livestock we rear
And the hunted animals are
powerless

You made rain come

Direct it into the meadows
Where the greenery sprouts

It can clearly be seen that the poet, though utilising natural imagery such as drought, rain environment, and meadows, yet his objective is quite a different matter.

(1) By simile is meant the comparison between two things and the bringing out of their shared attributes such as saying: Ali is a lion which is meant to convey that Ali has the attributes of a lion in terms of manness, courage and strength.

In as much as we are faced with this reality we admittedly have all the right to convince ourselves that a scientific outlook was ruled that in earlier Somali art. Accordingly we commit a grave historical error if we insist, as some people do, that our ancestors gave final answers to all the scientific questions posed by life. Looked at from another angle it is a wrong against the preceding So-

malis generation to impute to them to have found answers for certain tasks which history as an objective process did not as yet highlight.

It is an incontestable fact that human society never interests itself to answer questions which social need does not make practical ones for solution. The discovery by present science and technology of certain fundamental matters is inseparable from the processes of social growth, which has attained a stage when such affairs become standing questions necessitating immediate answers. It was not so much because there were questions calling for answerable solutions that instigated the European society of 16th century and after to develop, but the society above all, had the capacity to deeply probe into the important matters needing to be attended to.

Thus so long we come to understand that the earlier generations of Somalis did not attain a social growth enabling them to take a scientific lead in the research of the natural conditions with which they were surrounded and additionally in their social life, there is no rhyme or reason to ascribe to them some fictional capabilities.

FOLK LITERATURE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

Let us now direct our attention to the objective relations subsisting between peoples literature and the natural environment inhabited by the Somali nation. By the Somali people is strictly meant those who were most directly responsible to initiate the creation of the people's literature now under discussion. The term the Somali people obviously by its very nature is suffused with historical meaning and its discussion involves us to single out the phases through which it had and is to go.

Somali folk literature, more often, does not take up natural environment, but is linked to people's social life, and for this very reason the relationship it

has with natural environment is precisely the one social life strikes with the environment from which it springs. As it is if we delve more intently into the essence and content of folk literature, peoples environment and the effectiveness of their implements or manual equipment people were armed with in combatting natural environment's hardships become obvious and apparent to ones discriminating mind. Looked at from another angle the Somali people lived in their own land, which had its own specific characteristics, its numerous vicissitudes and hazards confronting them to frustrate their endeavours to create and facilitate life. The life they created had its particularity as shaped by the struggles people waged to overcome the hardships, and the life thus created could not be a stable and balanced one but then though its evolution was slow, it was nonetheless growing, and thus harmonising both natural and historical planes. Accordingly the objective relationship subsisting between the people and their soil was reflected by the then folk literature. In all seasons Somali folk literature brings forth the people's movement to create life, and the ever changing transformations environment, in its dimensions of polarities such as drought and opulence happiness and sadness, etc.

Somali people inhabit an arid rainless land, and within a year, it only rains at most two months a year, with the rainfall being minimal. By virtue of being a semi-desert Somalia is sparsely populated and largely is thorny and thirsty land, that is, excluding the inter-riverine area (Juba and Shebelle) the rest is dry land. Even in the regions close to the rivers dryness happens to be predominating. It is mainly in areas with specific exceptional environmental conditions that literary gifted personalities reside.

Anyway the stages travelled through

(CONT. ON PAGE 36)

THEORETICAL ISSUES



What is a historical progress ?

By, Mohamuud A. Ali (Bayr)

The idea of progress has acted, and still acts as a rich and controversial thematic subject for human Social thought to find a conclusive answer, or at any rate for attempts to arrive at such an answer. The controversies, passionate debates and emotionally charged atmosphere surrounding the notion of historical progress intimately touches mankind destiny here on earth. The categories, tendencies, Schools of social thought vying for honourable place to illuminate as to what we understand by progress accordingly necessitate further elucidation and amplification.

In the attempt to discover the objective laws and regularities of the complex array of natural and social phenomena and processes it becomes imperative to shed light on the interconnection existing, and the direction which the interconnected processes perforce take. Henceforth social thinkers have been paying due attention to discover, predict and point out to the direction which human development since antiquity to this very day took. Major grouping emerged amidst social thinkers of thought, with each group expressing sometimes opposite and mutually exclusive principles as to the true nature of historical progress: A set of social scientists categorically and unequivocally committed themselves to defend that the development of human society is an ascending order, a development from lower to higher, the simple to the complex. Underlying this progressive, all-rounded material and spiritual enrichment of mankind is the ever-rising and expanding productive capacities of man. engendered by great social division of labour. sophistication of productive implements, deepening and qualitative transformations of man's skills and efficiency. All these are dictated by historical necessity, i.e. the ever expanding horizons of man's needs favourably acts on the regeneration and rejuvenation of his productive forces, his control over nature, and the more economic and efficient utilisation of resources.

In principle these social thinkers assert the infinite and inexhaustible capacities of man, which if rationally and creatively harnessed are certain to enable us to attain a state of plenty where every individual in society is assured of the full satisfaction of his needs. This tendency in social thought is basically an optimistic and humanistic one since it bases its principles on

the unshakeable belief in man's happiness and freedom which as it openly announces is a fulfilable and cherishable ideal.

Set against and opposing the views briefly above expressed is a host of social thinkers who cast aspersions and deeply seated doubts as to the whole notion of historical progress. Picking up on certain historical events and incidents of a regressive nature they go on to pontificate about the non-existence and actual impossibility of human progress. The schools of thought congregating on the principles of the absolute denial of progress utilise all kinds of facetious and spurious arguments; biological, demographical, geographical and social to assert man's helplessness in the face of the challenges which natural and social development throw up against him. These social thinkers in antiquity and to this day subscribe to man's incapacity to progressively tackle the tremendous tasks that life incessantly imposes upon him. They contend that man, a puny figure, ill-equipped finds himself in a cul-de-sac, as it were vicious circle, which despite all efforts he cannot get out of. In its modern grab this school of thought seizes on the population explosion, the shortage of natural resources, the possibility of a nuclear holocaust and certain unfavourable scientific exigencies, to decry human progress. In point of fact a practical illustration of this sickening mental framework of academic and practical thought is embodied in today's doom predicting philosophy (doom sayers) which of late has taken deep root in Western Europe and America. The fallacious contention of the genetic degeneration of man, thereby the domination of the genetically inferior but uncreative majority over the genetically superior but creative minority eloquently exemplifies the bankruptcy of this pessimistic and anti-human latter day racist inspired and exploitative philosophy spurting from the mouths of academic apologists for continued colonial, Neo-colonial and class domination Apartheid, Zionism and other forms of callous racism finds succour and support in such philosophies which are formulated by and for the benefit of state monopoly capitalism and the ravenous multinational companies.

THE ESSENCE OF HISTORICAL PROGRESS.

The postulations of progress though in practical illustration, easy to grasp and pinpoint nonetheless remain

ns a complex and contradictory process which hence defies easy pigeon holing. The complexity of progress resides in the multiplicity and variedness of the numerous elements converging to make it a social whole. Any simplification of this process, or the absolutisation of one set of elements at the expense of others condemns us to a partial and misconceived understanding of the notion of progress. It is precisely in this that the epistemological roots of misguided cognition of progress, or for that matter any other category resides.

Thus to spell out the essence of progress, its driving forces, an all-sided and historical perspective of it is called for.

Looked at historically the notion of progress has travelled a long way and gained depth and insight as man's knowledge of both nature and society gathered increasing momentum. In early antiquity social thinkers advancing progressive ideas grounded it on spontaneous humanistic and justice seeking moral ideals. Since social injustice and oppression gathered momentum after breakup of the primitive commune, and the appearance of classes, and class domination, these progressive social thinkers advanced views strongly critical of slavery and feudalism. Being all objectively ill equipped to furnish scientific substantiation for the views they advocated, these thinkers had no option but to have ultimate recourse to the fashioning of social utopias, or in other words the subjective and voluntarist fashioning and belief in a beautiful world, other than the one we live in. In this beautiful world, progressive social thinkers banished all forms of social injustices, exploitation, oppression and man's cruelty to fellow men. Realising that the emergence of private property was at the root of man's inhumanity to other men acted as a fuel for these thinkers to outrightly and frankly condemn private property, and to strongly advocate a system of public property so as to ensure a just social order. Thomas Mores, Utopia's are eloquent testimonies to the deep human feelings and empathy that was generated in the hearts of these great and noble men, who under unfavourable conditions, championed the cause of the exploited. Another singular attribute of these early progressive social thinkers has been their hatred for the feudal monarchic political structure obtaining under them. In its place they championed a republican political system. Further More and Campanella were highly distrustful of the state as a repressive and coercive political machine. In nutshell More and Campanella's drew their strength from communistic and humanistic views they upheld, but their weakness lay in contrasting a future utopian vision for the reality then existing.

EARLY BOURGEOIS CONCEPTION OF PROGRESS.

In the heyday of the World bourgeois order, when capitalism was still locked up in struggle with the decaying feudal order, progress was a self-evident and undoubted phenomena for bourgeoisie social thinkers. Herder, Turgot, Condorcet and Hegel, great bourgeois theoreticians saw mankind's inevitable advance to a better, more human and just social order. They saw the widening of human horizons resulting from the expansion of the productive capacities of society. Be that as it is, these bourgeois theoreticians sought human progress, its laws, driving forces and essence in the sphere of spiritual principles of man's development. As Hegel argues the historical task of man is the realisation of the self-development of the absolute idea. The absolute idea needless to say, predates man, and gives rise to him. In short for Hegel the development of the World, is the development of ideas, spirit etc.

The bourgeois thinkers for whom progress was an undeniable natural advance were those two espoused an enlightened view of social development. The period of enlightenment beginning from renaissance to the French and German enlightenment eras saw the praise lavished at progress. In the minds of the rationalist philosophers such as Spinoza the historical march forward was ingrained in man's reason which impelled the pooling of human efforts, the banding of man into society as a natural process, with the state expressing the power of people brought together. The supposed march forward was not susceptible to reverse, or to gave way to an epoch of decline. Turgot, in his discourse on universal History said that «Through the alternation of agitation and calm, of good and evil, the mass of the human race keep marching ceaselessly towards its perfection». The tenor of this proves the resilient belief in historical progress, though Machiavelli's influence is also noticeable.

The shortcomings of the great enlightener's views on progress were a natural of their idealistic historical outlook. Indeed they recognized the valuable role that knowledge and science play in equipping man to control nature and use it for his betterment, but progress was mainly associated with spiritual development and the improvements brought on political institutions, notably the state. Of course the state was purified of the sacred and divine aura surrounding it as was the case in the times of slavery and feudalism. It was made secular and answerable to society, as emphatically propounded in Montesquieu's «L'Esprit des lois». At the same, these formidable thinkers ignored certain highly relevant spheres such as the origin of exploitation, the roots of injustice and the antagonistic nature of class interests. The French revolution

with its slogans of equality, fraternity and liberty was the brainchild of rationalist and enlightened bourgeois thinking on progress. This revolution was the consummation of all its ideas on social justice, which as practical experience has proved to be nonmaterialisable and simply a chimera. Jean Jacques Rousseau, a great enlightener who paved the way for the French revolution sounded the alarm very early and discovered earlier than others that their conception of progress was not foolproof and watertight. Neither the equality, liberty nor the brotherhood called by the French revolution found practical implementation.

PRESENTDAY BOURGEOIS CONCEPTION OF PROGRESS

Positivism and positivistic analysis today dominates the bourgeois sociological views on progress. Positivism as a world outlook made its appearance in early 19th Century when capitalism was losing energy and drive to propel society further ahead into the golden age as envisioned by optimistic social thinkers of earlier periods. Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer in the first half of the 19th Century came up with an evolutionary and organicist determined views on social development. Drawing on Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories they formulated a structuralist oriented perspective of human progress. Moreover progress for them came to an end with the advent of the capitalist era. Any progress to be further accomplished ought to remain within the bounds of the immutable and eternal prerequisites fashioned by the capitalist order. Over and above this, progress was seen as a slow and smooth process bereft of all social antagonisms. It was simply a successful and efficient adaptation to new natural and social conditions. This smooth and calm process was characterised by social homogeneity, continuity, and Obviated any qualitative and discontinuous tendencies toward social transformation. Harmony in both nature and society was the catchword and keynote to balanced and regulated progress analogous to the cumulative changes that occur from time to time in the organic World.

The views of Comte and Spencer, obviously with greater sophistication and adaptability hold sway in the presentday sociological life in the West. An analysis of various elements, instead of the social whole of development, a glut of empirical factual data regarding social institutions, without any attempt at sweeping generalisations and the laying down of fundamental principles is a singular characteristic of present day bourgeois sociology, as is admitted by the respected American sociologist Talcott Parsons.

Noteworthy to be mentioned is that today empirical sociology addresses itself to social change rather than progress. The notion of social change was advanced by Ogburn with the conscious understanding of expun-

ing and Jettisoning the concept to progressive change. The proponents of the concepts of social changes assert that accumulated scientific data of the 20th Century has frustrated the too simplistic views of an immediate and straight forward stages of social progression held in the 19th Century and for this reason these advocates of social change subscribe to the viewpoint that any notions of progressive social development has to be banished from sociological analysis. Concomitant with the stages of social progress, and pre-supposed by them, is the replacement of a set social structure social relations, as a reflection of the material foundation, with another set which are qualitatively distinguishable. The notion of social change negating the dialectical materialist method opposes this, and states that scientific research has disproved the sequential following of social structure. On these grounds they, at worst, discard or at best belittle progressive development of human society. For the advocates of social changes versed in modern positivism phenomena are individual, unique and inimitable, and these phenomena instead of going through transformation and metamorphosis go through death and destruction. The metaphysical nature and idealist trappings of modern positivism need not be exclusively elucidated but a practical guideline is its negation of human needs, aspirations and hopes which only a progressive philosophy can eloquently express.

REVIVAL OF THE CYCLIC THEORY.

Doubt with regard to social progress, and its everlasting efficiency has been expounded for a long time. Early in the 18th Century the Italian philosopher Giovanni Battista Vico, honestly translating the objective circumstances obtaining in Italy refused to commit himself to any constructive and progressive evolution of society. Vico's outlook is a sad and agonising one, he can neither find moral justification for the rotten feudal order he was living under, nor could he drum up support and sing praises for the rising bourgeois order. In the end he evolved an agonistic philosophy. Human history is telescoped into three stages: The divine period, the heroic and the human period. Each has its attributes, but the main thing is that for Vico, is the inspirational lack of a bright future for mankind. In the 3rd human period though the noble and aristocratic strata is beaten by the masses, nevertheless, society suffers a decline, and the cherished hopes of mankind are shattered.

The Cyclic theory in its modern and refurbished image derives its inner strength from the writings of Oswald Spengler who in 20s and 30s of this Century propounded a theory of cycles Vis-a-Vis European culture and civilisation.

European history as spelt out by Spengler drawn on the analogy of a child's development; a child is born,
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BOOKS & DOCUMENTS



ROOTS BY ALEX HALEY

By Amina H. Adan

Kunta Kinte was highly unfortunate to be a slave but on the other hand was fortunate to have a superb novelist as a seventh generation grandson. The above mentioned title is the story of this slave. It is the blood dripping tragedy of an African from the Gambia in the 1700's who was young, youthful and perhaps musically gifted who left his village (in now famous Juffre) to make a drum for himself from the woods. Fate or shall we say, the economical order of the day, put him in the merciless hands of slave capturers.

Haley has written this book so lovingly, he made each chapter fit the other as if it were an orchestra which the musicians would play each note so precisely, so carefully and so gently. Millions of T.V. viewers wept, felt guilty asked each other questions, admired the bravery of the slaves. Yes, Kunta was a brave and strong man. His bravery and strength are undeniable because, any slave who arrived the middle passage and made it to the new world, was a war hero by anyone, standards. Newsweek reported that a nine year girl called Becky Kelley from North Carolina wept when she saw the slaves shackled in the ship's hold. « I used not to like blacks », Becky said « Now I feel sorry for them because they were treated like that ». Not only the children of America see Roots, but right now children in Abu Dhabi watch Roots every Friday. The Chapters about slavery are so vivid, so well organized, so penetrating to the so-

ul you would not know whether you are relapsing into a sleep or awaking from a nightmare. No wonder in Brazil were burned all records, documents and works about slavery in the 1800's to try to conceal a so huge crime!

And so Kunta Kinta made it to America and contributed his efforts to the building of that nation. Like many of his fellow Africans he planted cotton and cane, like many he knew the whip, the lash, the slave broker and the overseer. Like many he wept, sang, dreamed, prayed, believed in god so intensively, so that he might be delivered. Like many he got disappointed and died as slave. He wondered why his kind were singled out for misery. He yearned for a peaceful truly life. Like many he doubted the humanity of the slave-owners and thought he was superior to them because they had no feeling and what is a man if he beget all the wealth of the World and loses his soul !.

When the book was changed to a film millions saw it in Europe and America. In the African continent where parts of the tragic drama originated it is changing Africa history. African historians are contacting their griots like mad.

Let us pause for a moment and ask who is Alex Haley? He is a self taught native son of black American, who worked on a U.S. coast guardship for twenty years. He wrote reports for the Captain who could not write and also helped fellow crew members to compose

love letters for their girl friends. Haley charged one dollar for each letter and also since he was the only Afro-American on the ship his colleagues never dared to utter the word nigger for fear that he might withhold his much needed talent «writing for them». So clearly in life, Haley knew how to combat his enemies with the written word. After retiring in 1959 he became a magazine writer and an interviewer. Then in the mid Sixties he wrote a most wonderful work, that was sold, read and seen by the millions: The Autobiography of Malcolm X. political scientists and historians the World over are aware of the mighty spell that Malcolm's book had on millions. It is not our concern here to comment on Malcolm's book but sincerely I wish we have the chance to discuss it sometime. Twelve years went by before Haley gave his readers Roots, and Roots was hailed as «an epic work destined to become a classic of American literature before it was published. So Haley, the writer, whose readers always pass the million was drawing great numbers again, 250 American colleges offered credit courses relating to Roots. Washington's national archives became crowded with people who were inspired by Roots and want to trace their own roots.

It was reported as a record that 130 million Americans saw it on T.V that is 85% of the American population. NBC reported that Roots was seen by more than any other series even «Gone with Wind».

It's viewers skyrocketed that T.V. manager commented «I think its the beginning of a dynasty». one advertiser signed up for the series by 120,000 a minute. Haley has made more than \$ 2 million in royalties alone. Roots has already been sold in 16 countries. The readers might be delighted

to know Haley is writting another novel 'Search' which is the story of how he searched, researched and reconstructed the history of his ancestor.

This is the story history, the melodrama of three continents, Europe, The New World and Africa. It is the story of a native

son of Gambia. It is the story of Nat Turner, Dr. Dbuio; Harrit, Tubman, Carmicheal and Rap. Yes all of them and more. It is the combined efforts of a beautiful people who survived the toughest odds mankind saw. In short it is the blues blended with Jazz in written form

(CONT. FROM PAGE 34)

grows up, matures, gains adulthood, gets old, decays and eventually dies. Human culture and civilisation travels through the self-same historical rungs: It has its child-brith, its noonday, when it enjoys full strenght and vitality, followed by the inescapable decline and decay. This process of growth, flourishing maturity and irretrievable destruction is an ongoing, and is a doomed historical tragedy which mankind with folded hands has to go through, and passively sucumb to. Mankinds, avenues of hope are all closed to this invariable demise and the best reaction is a graceful submission.

Arnold Toynbee, the late prolific British historian in ten successive volumes of his: A Study of History (1934-1955) has elaborated on the cyclic theory by giving it an academic respectability it never enjoyed before. In his theoretical exposition he adduces his own version of historical development by taking a standard model. Society in his schematic plan is divisible into two levels of civilisation. Growth and decline. These take place within the social perimeter consisting of two groups; a creative minority, and an uncreative majority. The two groups are surround by primitive societies. A progressive evolution of this society warranted an idyllic relation subsisting between these three parts. In this the creative minority who is charged with onerous tasks, serves ideally the welfare of the society, i.e dis-

charges duties beneficial to the uncreative majority, and strikes just relations with the surrounding barbaric tribes. However this setup is extremely fluid for the creative minority gives away to dominant minority who practise repression against the mass. Accordingly a Schism develops within the uncreative mass, giving rise to a dominant minority Vis-a-Vis the surrounding barbaric tribes. Consequently the external proletariat in ten successive Volumes of his: A study of History and this has the natural consequence of creating a chasm in social unity, thereby prompting decline. Toynbee sees the inherent social contradictions with which class-divided Society is rent, but pinning his hopes on the capitalist order he seeks for stablishing factor. Naturally he discovers the Christian religion as a convient smokescreen giving a new lease of life to this exploitative system. Be that as it is the Christian religion fails to act as a prop to a system which in the eyes of human society is too bankrupt to be doctored back into life

In conclusion for this first part of my article one can only modestly cover the complexity of the whole issue, the multiplicity of theories regarding it, and thereby the need for a comprehensive critique grounded on an objective assessment of human experience as it pertains to this vitally important sphere. In my second article a Marxist approach to historical progress will be attempted.

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ough must have constituted more than the hunting of wild animals and picking fruits. But then the hardships of life must have compelled them to pursue a trans-human life in as much as life did not allow them a settled way of life. At all times they had to move to where the circumstances took them, and where seasonal water Reservoir were to be found, and the nomadic community's folk literature showed the pervailing realities as best it could; as the following example manifests:

The dark clouds, bring in Mor-

ning And evening rain.

This is a song for livestock, and clearly evinces the great value with which rain was vested by this society. And in this way literature of the daily tasks reflects the natural phenomena and their skills (this will be dealt in greater detail in a later struggle).

The ecology conditions also compelled them to mainly rear camels, and accordingly the season why camels were valued so dearly from the fact that its adaptability to dryland is much greater, and it can cope with water scarcity, and moreover can support human sur-

vival in such arduous conditions as the following example

Jawoy mine and the lean camel herder

Alone weather the hard, dry season and for this you are loved.

Rearing of livestock, particularly camels, the methods of caring for it the long Journeys and the continuous moving about has created a society extermely conscious of rain. The spificicity of this life is intimated by folk literature, but this will be a different subject matter to be tackled in a later article.



8th March celebrations

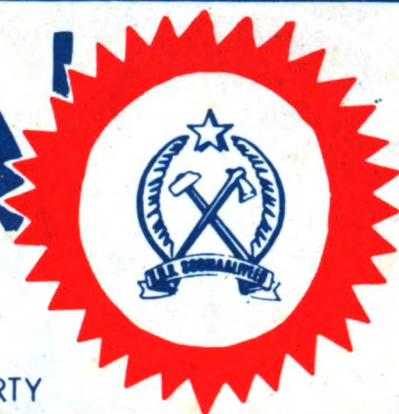


12th April: The National Army day.

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(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY



***THE ROLE OF THE TRADE
UNIONS IN THE DEVELOPM-
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SEC. GENERAL SPEECH ON 1st MAY

***THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGN-
MENT AND CUBA'S POSITION**

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***ON INFLECTIONS IN THE
SOMALI LANGUAGE.**

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

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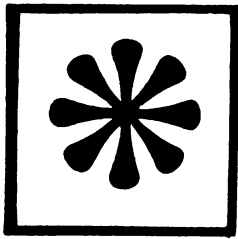
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EDITORIAL NOTES

INCREDIBLE TURMOIL IN AFRICA: WHAT DOES IT SIGNIFY?

As it is well known, the majority of the African countries gained their independence in the sixties. The masses of those countries had struggled hard and long, utilizing different means of struggle, and finally were able to free their countries from colonial bondage. Africa had experienced untold sufferings, it had lost millions of its people, its economic resources had been drained during those decades of colonial oppression and exploitation. In the bitter struggle against colonialism, the socialist countries and World progressive forces had on many occasions given struggling Africans both moral and material support.

The attainment of political independence in the sixties prompted the colonizing countries to reconsider the former methods in order to launch new tactics including.

1. Strengthening their presence in the still colonized areas, such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and on various Islands;
2. Ushering new forms of colonial control, essentially grounded on direct and indirect means of controlling the economies of the newly independent African countries (Neo-colonialism).

The present turmoil in Africa has given them the opportunity to display crude forms of Neo-colonial control including the cynical use of naked force. A dramatic example of this is the recent case of the Comoro islands. Information reaching us describes an invasion made on the Comoro islands, organized and financed externally with the objective of overthrowing the country's government in order to re-colonise the Islands. The invasion of the Comoros was undertaken by a group of mercenaries led by arch adventurer Bob Denard. Now this is the same Denard who had participated in several mercenary incursions into the Congo (now Zaire between 1961 and 1967). The group he led planned to invade not only the Comoros, but the Seychelles

Islands as well, the planned takeover of the Seychelles, however did not materialise.

How can such incredible acts against the African people be undertaken so cynically and so openly? Who is behind such sinister mercenaries? How could such mercenaries' invasions be carried out against independent African states in order to brutally eliminate African leaders? The incredible story reaching us goes on to state that this European mercenary Bob Denard has since shaved his hair, put on Comoro national dress and became a member of the Supreme council that currently claims to rule this African country.

Incredible events indeed ... and what do their signify? The implication is obvious. It means that the African national forces that had defeated the former colonizers have somehow become weakened, confused, and divided. In addition to such factors, we must also emphasise the fact that such re-colonising ambitions have been aided and abetted by:

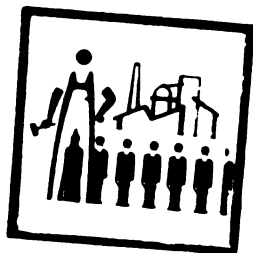
- 1) The new aggressive policy adopted by the USSR and its allies resulting in crass interference in purely African matters. Their adventurist deployment of arms and troops (From Cuba and other East European countries) in such a way as to aggravate tensions on the African continent. Apart from putting a question mark on the former progressive policy of the USSR to stand with the liberation forces and creating serious complexities within Africa, such adventurist activities have also paralysed the activities of world progressive forces and have provided a veritable shelter behind which imperialism is openly and forcefully returning to recolonise Africa.

2. The independent African states and the organization of African Unity have exhibited serious symptoms of disunity. They are losing the ability to tackle seriously the crucial problems confronting the continent. Most of these problems require courage, honesty, the ability to look objectively into historical origins and consequences of problems facing Africa, the will to come up with African solutions to Africa's problems. It seems that the Organization of African Unity is paralysed and independent African states are distracted and led into disarray and confusion, occupying themselves with secondary issues instead of solving the crucial issues thereby barring room for external interference.

Does the Soviet Union realise or care about the dangers and turmoil it has brought Africa through its pursuit of its strategic interests? How many African leaders are sincerely worried about the implications of these problems?.

The OAU annual summit conference will be held in Khartoum in July this year. There is no doubt that the peoples of Africa are expecting from the OAU summit a firm and clear response in order to counter foreign interference in African problems, in order to counter the new scramble for Africa which echoes the 1884 Berlin conference that had led to the partition and colonisation of our continent.

Political' Social and Economic Affairs



15th : MAY SYMBOL OF YOUTH STRUGGLE AND STRENGTH

Mohamed Dahir Afrah

The month of May comes each year embodying memories of joy and happiness for the progressive forces in Somalia. It has been the habit of these forces to start preparatory campaign for the observation of the historical month whenever it approaches.

On the eve of 1st May starts the celebration of the international working class day as well as the foundation of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union. Then after having celebrated the above two occasions comes 15th May which is observed as the Somali Youth day. Consequently, the responsibility of shouldering such celebration shifts on the youth who become the host of the progressive forces within Somalia, and from abroad.

15th MAY IS THE MOTHER HISTORICAL DAYS

The number of historical days that is observed on national level are twelve. These days are observed because of their historical significance to the Somali nation especially their observation has been increased with the birth of the Revolution of the 21st October 1969. However, before the said Revolution importance were not attached to the above mentioned days.

15th May is considered to be the oldest day in our national day that is observed to the present throughout the Somalia Democratic Republic. It is the first national day observed annually in our country. In the 1940s' it used to be the only recognized national day.

As we know, 15th May has entered history, because it was the day when the Somali Youth Club was founded in 1943. This social organization at first, was later turned to a fullfledged political party which became the prototype of the nationalist parties.

This party became the guiding force of the Somali people's quest for freedom and independence. Thus, it was possible in July 1st 1960 for two parts of the original five parts the Somalis, where illegally partitioned by the colonialist, to become independent and unite.

In the 1940's during the time when the SYL as a nationalist and progressive party was immune from neo-colonialist influence, 15 May used to be observed as the day of the Somali Youth who spearheaded the idea of freedom and independence.

Needless to say, the (SYL) party has been immobilised by the neocolonialist designs and later it became a vehi-

cle for its sinister policies. But this fact must not degrade the historical importance of 15 May. However, the real importance does not lie in the historical movement of one party, but lies in the historical process of social change and the contribution of the idea which emerged on 15th May as was stated by Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, on the ceremony marking the observation of this historical day held for that purpose in the National Theatre.

IMPORTANT DAYS IN OBSCURITY.

Likewise, when the historical importance of 15th May is emphasised it should not be taken that it is the first day which denote the birth of the idea of the freedom and independence of the Somali nation. In fact this idea is very older than 15th May.

it goes back to the annals of the revolutionary wars of liberation headed by the Somali heroes: Ahmed Gurey Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan for the freedom and the independence of the Somali nation.

Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that there is no an official day or a month designated for the observation of the above nationalistic mo-

vement of the Somali people. The major reason being that the lack of written script for the Somali Language, as well as the absence of up to date research of our history. But with the inception of the Revolution a new move has been made in that direction. Therefore, the Somali Youth movement is the first movement where official records are available. That is why 15th May is described the oldest national day which is observed in our country. Thus, there is a possibility that in the near future older national days would be inaugurated.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE DUE IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES TO THE HISTORICAL DAY

With the birth of the 21st October Revolution of 1969, it embarked on the organization, mobilisation and unification of all social strata of the society for the difficult process of building a new society. This enormous task was entrusted to the political office of the Presidency of SRC, which organized a branch for each social strata such as workers, youth, women and cooperatives.

For each of the above social strata specific historical Revolutionary day was chosen. The significance of the historical days was not only limited to the Somali society, but also to the progressive forces in the world such as 8th March, international women day, 1st May International Working class day, and 15th May which is the day of the national independence movement and the Somali youth.

Accordingly, since the birth of the revolution, celebrations were organized each year for the observation of the above mentioned days by the concerned strata. The organizations and the foundation of the social organizations has coincided with the specific historical day having significance for each social organization. This in turn indicates that the Somali social organizations are an integral part of the progressive forces in the world. These forces are composed of the anti-imperialist, and anti-colonialism fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF A BROAD OBSERVATION.

This year, the commemoration of 15th May had a special significance which made it different from last years. This particular significance was the birth and the first anniversary of the revolutionary organization of the Somali youth. This organization is backed by the entire revolutionary youth of Somalia by demonstrating the historical significance of this day. A full week was entirely devoted for the activities connected with this auspice day. Celebrations were held on all levels throughout the Somali Democratic Republic and were high lighted by sport events, processions, gatherings, exhibition etc. These various activities made this year celebration of 15th May the biggest one in the country.

Youth celebration has always its particular artistic taste and vigour which is attributed to the nature, of the

youth who are aptly described as being the most dynamic segment of the society. The youth in the historical celebration of their day were joined by the leaders of the country headed by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the Somali Democratic Republic J/le Mahamed Siad Barre, who has the habit of joining the social organizations in the commemoration of their revolutionary celebrations

Jaalle Siad participated in a big ceremony held at the national theater, on the occasion of the auspice day of 15th May, where he delivered a historic speech, of significance to the Somali youth. This historic speech will inevitably be a weapon for the youth in their struggle for the building of a new society and the defence of our national sovereignty.

Also, the youth in their celebration were congratulated, given support and joined by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions, Somali Women Democratic Organization, the Organization of the Somali Cooperatives Movement, and the Armed forces. It has been the habit of the progressive forces of Somalia to fulfill their duties in cooperative and mutual way.

The magazine «STRUGGLE» congratulate the revolutionary organization of the Somali youth, in their 1st anniversary and wish for them success in the achievement of the historical message which the entire Somali society expect from them.

PARTY LIFE



The 1st May celebration in the SDR



On the occasion of 1st May, the international worker's day that coincided with the first anniversary of the foundation of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions, the working masses of the SDR held due ceremonies throughout the whole country.

On the evening of 29th April the working masses celebrated 1st May at the orientation centers of all the districts of the country. There, reports concerning the historical development of the international struggle of the worker and in particular that of the Somali workers class organs. Also in the afternoon of 30th April mass rallies were staged in all the towns of the SDR in which the working masses as well as the other progressive forces have participated.

As an illustration, we can take the huge rally staged in the Capital City of Mogadishu. The highways of Mogadishu City we-

re over crowded with working masses and groups from the other Social organisations of the Youth, Women, cooperatives, armed forces and the masses of 14 districts of Benadir whose number exceeded three hundred thousand.

During the rally, the working masses were chanting revolutionary songs as well as asseverating their promise to accelerate the revolutionary endeavour, safeguard of the revolutionary pro-

ducts, defend the mother land and intensify the co-operation with the working masses of the world in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation. Social slogans were also written in the placards and posters carried by the working masses who were staging the rally.

After the masses in the rally gathered at the square of the unknown soldier's monument where the General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre attended to honour the **working masses by his participation** and received there a salute of honour.

Also present at the square of the unknown soldier were Vice-Presidents Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor and Jaalle Hussein Kulmiye Afrah, members of the C.C. of the SRSP and high ranking officials of the SRSP, Social Organisation and government administration.



1st May Day celebrations

On the evening of 1st May a mass rally was held at the National Theatre, to celebrate the 1st May, International worker's day and the 1st anniversary of the founding the General Federations of Somali Trade Unions.

On this occasion the Chairman of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions (F.S.T.U.) Jaalle Mo-hamud Ali Ahmed presented a report on the activities of the G.F.S.T.U. During the celebration the Chairman of the G.F.S.T.U. has presented gold medal to the Secretary General of the S.R.S.P., President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, to honour the Sec. General's adherence to the worker's cause. The medal was the first of this type to be presented by the organization since its foundation.

The Sec. General delivered a speech in which he touched upon the following points:

1. The struggle of the workers of the World and their present position in the World revolution.

2. History of the Somali workers and their past and present activities in building, defending the country, increasing production and developing the society in every aspect.

3. The situation in the Horn of Africa and the legitimate struggle of Western Somali, Abo, and Eritrean liberation fronts.

4. The aim of the cheap



propaganda manipulated by imperialist forces and internal reactionaries aiming to diverge the Somali masses from the right path they have chosen — Scientific Socialism.

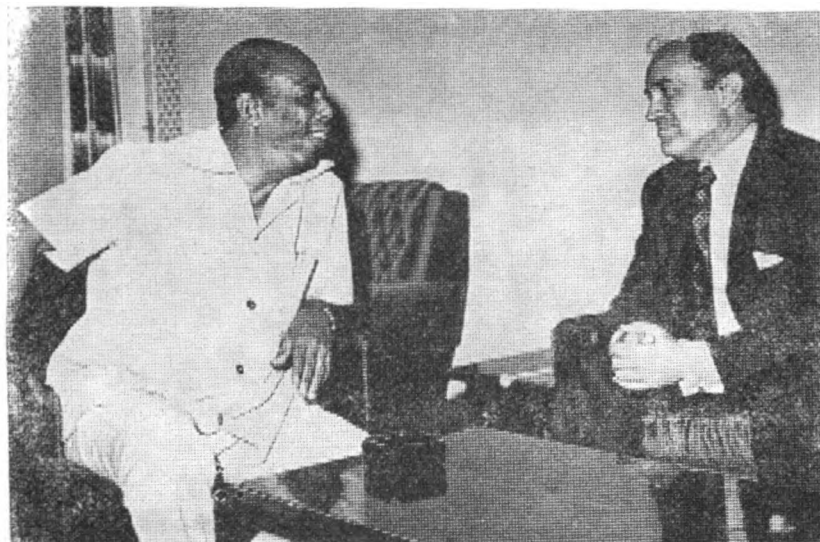
5. The aborted coup which was engineered by small reactionary group manipulated by foreign powers in order to undermine the revolution.

In conclusion, the president highly praised the So-

mali workers contribution to the implementation of the 21st October Revolution.

Among the leaders, participated in this ceremony were Vice-presidents, members of Polit-Bureau of CC of S-RSP, Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrāh and Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor, Jaalle Brig. General Ahmed Sulemān Abdallah, members of the Central Committee and Foreign Ambassadors.

ICP delegation visits Somalia



On 9th May an eleven-member delegation from the Italian Communist Party left Mogadishu back to their country after a week-long friendly visit, to Somalia. The delegation was led by Comrade Luigi Pestalossa, a staff member of the Italian Communist Party also a writer among whose works are several books concerning Somalia.

The Delegation was invited

by the SRSP to attend the 1st May Celebrations in Somalia. The Chairman of the CC Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Adan Sheikh, the Chairman of Mobilization and organization Bureau Jaalle Abdulkadir Hagi Mohamed and Vice Chairman of the foreign Affairs Bureau Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah had respectively received the dele-

gation and discussed with them matters concerning the co-operation and the strengthening of the good existing relations between the two parties.

The two sides also discussed current World issues and the relations between the two countries. The Delegation of the Italian Communist Party had during their stay in the SDR visited the Agro-fishery Co-operative communities in Kurtunwaray, Brava, and other co-operatives.

During these visits the delegation was warmly received by secretaries of the party organizations and the masses living in the areas they visited, and meanwhile, had been fully informed about the developments achieved by the Revolution.

This visit is realised within the frame work of the relationship between the two parties, and no doubt it will contribute to the development of those already existing relations.

Commemorating the Day of Nationalisation

7th May is recorded in a golden page of the Somali history. On this day of 1970 the Somali Revolution has courageously declared the nationalisation of the banks and companies that used to be in the hands of foreigners exploiting the Somali workers.

The decision was in line with the principles of Scientific Socialism whose objective is to struggle against exploitation of a class by another. In the socialist world there are two forms of property i.e the state property administe-

red by the government and the co-operatives property invested in productive schemes and developed by the co-operation of the productive forces.

Thus the nationalisation of the major economical sources is an indication of progressiveness complying with the findings of scientific socialism that our 21st Oct Revolution has been characterised with since its inception.

The aspiration of the revolution is to defend the interests of the working masses and in general a

the Somali masses and only by the adoption of scientific Socialism this goal could be reached.

Therefore the first measures taken by the Revolution were based by the principles of scientific Socialism. One of these significant first revolutionary measures was the nationalisation act.

It is a fact that life and progress of a nation is commensurate to the rate of productivity in its economical resources. If the economical administration is in the hands of the capi-

talists who never consider the needs and development of the society but are ab-sessed to exploit the economical sources to their personal profit, there will be no possibility for equal opportunities in the progress of that country based on justice, and granting the equal share of the workers productive forces.

There-fore the October Revolution based its decision on such scientific outlook when it declared the nationalisation of the economical sources of the country. During the years in which the adaministration of the commanding heights of economy were in the hands of the Somali working masses a tremon-

dous progressive change has taken place in the improvement of the industries, banks and agencies of the country. This is an indication of the difference between the capitalist economic system and that of the Socialist system which serves the interests of the labour force and the society.

15 th May celebrations

On 15th May, 1943, the Somali Liberation Movement has entered a new stage. It took a new pilttical and organizational work.

Since the inception of 21st October Revolution, ce liberation were held throughtout Somalia, in commemoration of that historical day.

Having founded the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU) on 15th May 1977 more significance was given to that day. Thus 1st May of this year was more colourfully celebrated and hailed as the 35th Anniversary of the Somali Youth League which coincided with the first Anniversary of the SRYU.

CELEBERATIONS ORGANISED BY THE WORKING YOUTH

On the night of 15th May a ceremony was held at the Headquarter of the SYRU on the occasion of that day. This ceremony was organised by the Committees of the working Youth in collaboration with their secretariat.

Present at that ceremo-



nial occasion was the Vice President of the SDR and Assistant Secretary General of SRSP, Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor. This ceremony was also attended by: the Chairman of the Mobilisation and Organisation Bureau, Jaalle Col. Abdulkadir Haji Mohamed, the Chairman of the Ideology Bureau, Jaalle Mohamed Adan Sheik, the Party Secretary of Benadir Region, Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim Aburas, the Chairman of the GFSTU, Jaalle Mohamed Ali Ahmed and the 1st Vice-Chairman of the SRYU, Jaalle Dahir Warsame Yusuf.

On that occasion, the 1st Vice-Chairman of the SRYU

delivered a welcome speech after which Jaalle Ismail spoke About the historical struggle of the Somali Youth by high-Lighting on various aspects such as:

1. The historical freedom-seeking struggle of the Somali and how it was spread to every part of the country during the clonial period.

2. The oppressive acts exercised on hindering the aspirations of the Somali youth to deprive their basic needs during the reactionary regimes preceeding the Revolutionary Era.

3. The progressive measures taken by the Revolution for the development

of the then prevalent conditions of the Somali youth and the directives given as the rightful part to help them carry out successfully their required role.

4. The great success achieved by the Somali youth during the Revolutionary era.

In conclusion the vice-President of the SDR, Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, urged the Somali youth to Accelerate and intensify their role in fulfilling acts of nation-building and progress of the society at this most demanding stage in the the history of the Somali nation.

Also for the commemoration of that great 15th May, the working youth presented a cultural programme at the SRYU headquarter on this same night.

CELEBRATION IN THE DISTRICTS

On the night of 14th May, ceremonies on the occasion of the youth day were held in all the districts of the SDR. these ceremonies were organised by the committees of the SYRU in the districts in collaboration with the party committees and other social organisations.

Present in those ceremonies, were party functionaries who delivered speeches on that occasion. in particular the C.C. members of the SRSP participated in the ceremonies held at the 14 districts of the Benadir Region, while the Regional inspectors of the C.C. of the SRSP and the Regional Party Secretaries participated in the ceremonies of the other regions.

These party functionaries have delivered speeches on the august day of 15th May, about the historical struggle of the Somali youth for independence, and progress. meanwhile they urged the youth to increase their efforts in the progressive acts for development and nation-building.

Also nearly all the Somali masses have participated in the ceremonies of the youth day in a happy mood hailing that great historical day.

WREATHS LAID AT THE CITY MONUMENTS

In the morning of 15th May wreaths of flowers were laid at city's four monuments of Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan, Dagahtur Haawo Taako and the unknown soldier by youth teams comprising of students, working youth, youth pioneers and the first aid youth teams of the districts also they were joined by contingents of armed forces, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Somali Women's Democratic Organisation and teams from the districts of Benadir region had participated in the wreath-laying ceremony.

The wreath-laying ceremony was led by the Regional Party Secretary of Benadir, Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim Aburas, the vice-Chairman of the Foreign Relations Bureau, Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, the President of the Somali Women's Democratic Organisation, Jaalle Fadumo Omar Hashi, the Ith vice-Chairman of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Jaalle Dahir Warsame Yu-

suf and members of the thirteen founders of the Somali Youth League.

MASS RALLY

The Somali Youth Revolutionary Union (SRYU) has organised a mass rally throughout the S.D.R., in the after-noon of 15th May.

In Mogadishu, more than hundreds of thousands have marched throughout the main streets of the city. Those who participated in this historic procession were: Intermediate, secondary, University students, Revolutionary pioneers, working youth and youth sport teams. They were also joined by the contingents representing General Federation of Somali trade Unions, Somali Women Democratic Union, and organisation of Somali Cooperative Movement.

The Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP, Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor took a standing salute at the Darvish Park from the Said parade headed by the youth mounting horses. Consequently the Somali Youth demonstrated their dedication and readiness in defending their mother land as well the development of their society conspicuously manifested in the slogan, «Production and Education».

In the evening a culture programme was held at the National Theatre. The high light of the said programme was a patriotic play staged and produced by the SRYU. The main theme of the play was the history of the Somali nation and its glo-

rious struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

Lastly, the programme was concluded by the historic speech delivered by secretary general of the SRSP, President of the S.D.R. Jaalle Siad.

Another celebration was held at hotel Africa on 17th May, in commemoration of the 1st Anniversary of the SR-YU and the historic day of 15th May. The purpose of the ceremony was intended to relief the youth who

took active participation in the celebration connected with the historical day of 15th May. Besides, the General Committee of SRYU and other Social organisations were invited to the above mentioned ceremony.

3rd anniversary of the Political Institute



On the 27th of May a ceremony for the 3rd anniversary of the Political Sciences Institute of the SRSP was held at Halane Accademy.

Present at the ceremony were: the Vice President of the SDR and Assistant-General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Brig General Ismail Ali Abokor, the Commander of Halane Accademy Brig. General Adan Abdullahi Nur, Functionaries of the Party and social organisations, professors of the National University and all the headmasters, teachers and students of Halane teacher's training Institute.

On this occasion, the Assistant-Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor delivered a speech in which he pointed out the needs that neces-

sitated the establishment of the Institute of Political Sciences and described them as follows, Training of the Party cadres who can acquire a vast knowledge in the principle of scientific socialism and the leadership of the society; the achievement of self-sufficiency in our educational system and the training of our people here in order to avoid anything that a foreign teacher could transmit to us.

Jaalle Ismail also mentioned the difficult stage that the country is passing through and the national requirements that compel us to overcome the existing difficulties.

In conclusion, the Assistant-Secretary General urged the students of the institute to increase their efforts and study hard, in

order to be fully qualified for the responsibilities they have to shoulder in the future.

Preceding this speech was a report about the various stages through which the institute has undergone and its present conditions.

This report was presented by the head of the institute of political sciences, Jaalle Brig General Adan Abdullahi Nur who is also a member of the CC of the SRSP.

The institute of Political sciences was opened on 25th May 1975 and during these three years many students who graduated from it, at present, hold important posts at Party machinery and in the social organizations.

A New Party Secretary for Benadir Region

On 18th May the post of the secretary for the party committee of Banaadir Region was taken over by Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah a member of the CC of the SRSP who replaced Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim (Aburas) also a member of the CC of the SRSP and as well the Mayor of the Capital City of Magadishu.

Present at the handing-over ceremony held at the regional Party headquarters, were the Chairman of the general Federation of the Somali Trade Unions Jaalle Mohamud Ali Ahmed, member of the CC of the SRSP and members of the region's party committee.

The former Secretary of



the Party committee Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim (Aburas) in a short speech on the occasion outlined the activities carried out by the committee during the period he was at Office.

The new Secretary, Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah in reply asked for the cooperation of the Party Committee members and functionaries in order to be able to fulfill their responsibilities.

DISTRICT ACTIVITIES

1. H/Jajab District

On the 8th this month, the District Party Secretary of H/Jajab Jaalle Abshir Sh. Hassan closed a seminar for 114 new members of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

During the 15-days seminar, they studied the programme and statue of the SRSP.

This seminar was Preceded by another one which continued for 20 days. Taking part in the seminar were the committees of Party cells of H/Jajab district, they studied party documentation, responsibilities of the cells as well as the programme and statue of the SRSP.

On the 13th of May, an arts competition was concluded in the same district, taking part in the competition that night were H/Jajab and Shangani districts and the

former emerged victorious. All the districts of Benadir region were engaged in such arts competition and during the same night of May the 13th Hodan defeated Yaqshid district.

The arts contests proved to be very useful in the encouragement of artists as well as the mobilization of the people. The Victorious districts were rewarded with musical instruments by the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union (SRYU).

2. Waaberi District.

On the 6th of May, a twenty days seminar was closed at the Orientation Centre of Waberi district for youth brigades of that district. The youth were previously distributed to the various quarters of the district; it was however, found better to form them at a district level and to let the quarters organise their own new brigades. The seminar followed this

development and the youth were taught about the statue of the organisation as well as their new responsibilities. It was closed by the District Party Secretary of Waberi district, Jaalle Abdisamad.

3. Shangani District.

«Kadis» programme contested by students in the schools of Shangani was held at the Orientation Centre of the district.

The objective of the programme, which continued from the 17th to 25th of May was to link the students to the district and to give an opportunity to the students to increase their knowledge.

A competition for Literature was also participated by the quarters and schools of the district. The competition which started on the 1st of May was concluded on the 24th of the same month. Prizes were awarded to the victorious quarters and schools.

The 15th anniversary of SALF

On the 25th of May, celebration was held at the National Theatre, marking the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the Somali Abo liberation front.

The occasion was attended by members of the Central Committee of the SRSP, leaders of the Abo, western Somali Liberation front, representatives of the Eritrean and Palestinian liberation fronts in Mogadishu, foreign diplomats residing in Mogadishu. Masses from all parts of Mogadishu also participated in the meeting.

A speech was delivered by the secretary general of the Somali Abo Liberation Front (SALF), Jaalle Mohamed Ali Rubey.

In his speech Jaalle Rubey talked of the history, the long struggle the Abo

people experienced against the Abyssinian colonialism and the background of the Abo people's struggle for self determination.

The Secretary General of SALF, called on the O.A.U., Arab league, UN. and in general to all peace and freedom loving people of the World to support the Somali people's struggle against Abyssinian domination, in order to achieve freedom and self-determination.

On the same occasion, representatives of Western Somali and Eritrean liberation fronts delivered speeches of support and solidarity.

During the celebration, traditional dances and poetry of the Abo people were performed. The Cultural programme which was highly appreciated was orga-

nized by a group of artists from SALF who deeply expressed and depicted the oppression practiced by the Abyssinian colonialism against the Abo people.

The Chairman of the CC SRSP bureau for ideology Jaalle Mohamed Aden outlined the SRSP and the Somali government's position in support for the just struggle of the Abo people for self-determination. In his speech, Jaalle Mohamed Adan discussed in detail the problems resulted by colonial domination and its consequences to the people of Africa, and in particular to the Somali people. The chairman declared that no power can halt people's fight for a just cause and emphasised that the history is on the side of the people's struggle for independence.

HALGAN is published in the

State Printing Agency

WORLD AFFAIRS

CUBA & THE POLICY OF
NON-ALIGNMENT

In the historical past, if the world was at peace with itself its tranquility has been shattered by the advent of colonialism. Then it is an accepted fact, that for centuries colonialism was the dominant force over the fate of many peoples. This state of affairs has made it inevitable for the armed struggle of the National Liberation Movements in many parts of the world. Consequently, many people have gained their political independence, but economic domination became a fait accompli.

However, a new political system emerged in the Soviet Union based on the principles of Scientific Socialism by challenging the dominant political system of Capitalism which was based on economy serving the capitalist class. Thus, after the end of the Second World War, many Socialist countries appeared on the maps of the world. This was followed by the emergence of many new nations of the Third World. At this stage, it meant the withering away of an old fashioned colonialism but instead it was supplanted by neo-colonialism which undermined the wealth of the new nations in a subtle methods of exploitation.

Further, the end of the Second World War was followed by the emergence of the Cold War phenomena which became an integral part of the

policies of the two antagonistic blocs: Capitalism and Socialism. As result, this phenomena took a new turn of intensification until it reached the summit point. Likewise, the impact that it brought to the world was one of apprehension. This apprehension was the by product of the possession of nuclear arsenal and the threat inherent in its deployment introduced political weight and prudence to its uses.

At this juncture the world was divided into two powerful blocs, thus jeopardizing human existence. The newly independent states were more apprehensive and concerned about the fate of the world since the functioning of their economic development needed more than any body else stability and peaceful co-existence.

Above all, it was this concern manifested by the new states which brought about the birth from within of a new international organization. Gradually this embryonic organization has reached the state of maturity as time passed. At first, this new organization was baptized with many names of economic and political significance: The non-aligned states, the Third World, the poor world, the 77 group and the southern world.

Comparatively speaking, these nations have many common features: The fact they are all

newly independent; that they want the total eradication of colonialism; that their interests and objectives are one, that their socio-economic and political structures are similar, and most of all their problems, experiences, are one whether physical or other wise. It was then viable for these nations to adopt the policy of positive neutralism to the existing two blocs in order to lessen tension between them, thus contributing to world peace and stability. However, the policy of positive neutralism was the by product of the condition and the prevailing international relations of that time.

The objectives of the non-aligned nations were determined by the political and economic oppression of the developed nations and their relationship with the rich nations of the world; both capitalist and socialist. One need not be convinced that the non-aligned nations are struggling for democracy, political and economic independence.

Therefore, we can infer the following objectives from the resolution adopted by the conference of the non-aligned states:

1. To ensure international peaceful co-existence which is the only way to any hope for economic progress.

2. To strengthen the sovereignty and independence of

Third World countries, oppose and fight against anything that hampers the political, economic and cultural development of the said countries.

3. To declare war on backwardness so as to realise progress in economic and political fields and by closing the gap of disparity between the Third World and the developed world.

4. To work for a democratic relationship between countries of the world and the recognitions of the significant role of the non-aligned world in peaceful co-existence among the nations of the world.

The Belgrade conference of 1961 called on the non-aligned group of nations to fight: Imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism. The call of the non-aligned world was that «Imperialism should be eradicated in all its forms».

The very idea of non-alignment was born in Bandung, Indonesia, when the first conference of some leaders of the Third World countries was held in 1955. This gave the birth to the organization of the non-aligned states. In a second conference in Belgrade in 1961 the non-aligned group of nations stressed the rights to utilize their own resources and the need for narrowing the glaring economic disparity between the countries of the world.

The most active proponent of the establishment of the non-aligned nations movement were the great sons of Africa and Asia, Kwame Nkrumah, Jamal Abdel Nasir, Nehru, Sukarno together with the president of Yugoslavia Marshal Tito.

The condition for admission to membership in the non-alignment movement were drawn out in the Cairo conference of June 5-12, 1961, which was the preparatory meeting for the Belgrade conference of 1961. Until the Colombo conference of 1976, the conditions attached to membership in the said movement were as follows:-

1. The member country, should pursue an independent policy based on peaceful co-existence.

tence of countries with different political system and adherence to non-alignment.

2. It should lend support to liberation movements.

3. It should not be a party to a military alliance of confrontation between super powers.

The number of the non-aligned countries increased with each year as can be seen from the table below and their influence in the United Nations and other world forums was enhanced.

Conference	Bandung 1955	Belgrade 1961	Cairo 1964	Lusaka 1970	Algiers 1973	Colombo 1976
Number of attending countries	29	25	49	54	76	85

The political action and struggle of the non-aligned countries meant drastic change in the structure of the international political systems which in the past divided the world into a colonializing lot and a large mass of colonized peoples. The political achievements of the Third World nations made it imperative the need for a new world economic order. Knowing that the existing economic structure was a product of the old political system, which in essence was based on poor-rich-exploitation relationship the existing international economic structure should give way to a new one which ensures a more equitable distribution of wealth and balanced economic relationship aiming at closing the gap of the present existing economic discrepancies among the nations of the world.

Being cognisant of the wisdom of the principles of non-alignment and the need for meaningful independence by

the people, who have been oppressed for centuries, meant recently the emergence of a new development. Cuba has come to play with fire among the non-aligned world.

Looking back to Cuba's history, we know that Cuba was Latin American dictatorship under rule of Batista. The Cuban people have gone through a great deal of suffering and oppression under Batista's rule until they deposed him after a bitter struggle in 1959. The new regime which formed after the overthrow of Batista was very much in need of support and assistance. Thus the new Cuban government called for help from the emerging non-aligned countries who favourably responded in view of the American threat to the new Cuban state. The non-aligned Nations provided tremendous support to the Cuban state. However, the Cuban government exploited the trust and support of the Third World nations for its own ends and betrayed the principles of

non-aligned community from which she had immensely benefited. Cuba has called The Soviet and other East European countries to its side. She slowly entangled herself in the economic and military web of the Warsaw Pact Alliance. Cuba is no longer a non-aligned country but is a member of one of the two power bloc of the world, pursuing its role with such vigour as to out do almost any other of the more senior members of its military alliance partners. In this connection, Cuba has trampled on the very basic principles of non-alignment and had directly aligned itself with one of the two super powers (The Soviet Union). In the process, Cuba has aggressively come up against the independence and liberation struggles of nationalist movement, in contraven-

tion of the programme of non-aligned nations. The present wanton aggression of the Cuban and its allied partners armies against the Western Somali and Abo Liberation fronts and their current genocidal war against the Eritrean people is known to the whole world.

Cuba wants to gain the trust of African and other Third World countries by having them believe that she is fighting the Racist regimes of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, but this cannot mask its heinous policy in Africa.

Thus, what then has Cuba got as the prize of its actions. It has received a soviet security against the united States because of its proximity to the said country. About this, Cuba gets some economic benefits, such as cheap oil supplies

The price of Cuban sugar was raised and exported to East European countries and Soviet Union.

Therefore, the time has come for the non-aligned nations to Consider Cuba's role within the movement because of its later involvement in the African affairs that is contrary to the principles of non-alignment and her total association with the Soviet Union and its Warsaw bloc, otherwise, the damage brought to their movement would be irreparable and destructive one. However if the non-aligned countries procrastinate and condone the present policy of Cuba in Africa, it would be rather a folly of great magnitude and of immense repercussion and that could possibly pronounce death sentence on the very movement of non-alignment.



History will not absolve Castro

At the outset it is pertinent to recall an essay written by Castro under the title, «History will absolve me». In this essay he depicts his role in the Cuban Revolution which now dragged itself in the Horn of Africa in a sheer ignorance of the setting, and historical complexities of the area. Cuba's present role in the Horn is reminiscent of the utter ignorance manifested by the European colonialists at the time of their colonisation of the African continent.

In the light of the above background, it is appropriate to examine the speech delivered by Castro on April 27, 1978 in Havana Revolutionary Plaza, welcoming Mengistu, who was on a visit to Cuba.

At first, the speech seems to be interesting in many aspects. However, the central theme of the

said speech is full of historical inconsistencies and arrogance manifested against peoples and organizations of Africa.

It gives legitimacy to the machiavelian axiom that «ends justify the means». Hence, Cuba has side stepped the lofty principles of Scientific Socialism which recognised the national liberation movements as a patent force fighting against colonialism and instead in her execution of the policies of a super power has sided with colonialism in the Horn of Africa.

This fact, is supported by the present economic position of Cuba which does not allow her to supply sophisticated weapons to Mengistu regime or troops.

Specifically, Castro's speech shows his lack of historical in de-

pth knowledge of the area. This has made him a typical Cowboy shooting from the hip in all directions.

He denies the existence and the armed struggle of the national Liberation movements of Western Somalia and Abbo by supplanting them with Somalia in alleging that «The Somali aggression... became an extra-ordinary threat... to the very existence of Ethiopia.»

Likewise, he ignores the fact of Ethiopian colonisation of the peoples of Western Somalia and Abbo by claiming that «The Ogaden (Western Somali) territories has been part of Ethiopia for hundreds of years....» It seems that since Castro by profession is a lawyer, he is acting blindly to defend the Ethiopian colonialism in the Horn.

Another point to emphasize is are 1882 — 1887 — 1948 — 1954 old dates?

Further Castro deliberately maintains that the present conflict of the Horn is basically between two States, Somalia and Ethiopia in making an absurd reference to Mexico stating:

In talking with some North American visitors, I have told them: What would be your government's attitude if Mexico invaded you, claiming by force the return of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California and other territories which you grabbed from them by force in the last century and where 10 Million mexicans live?

Accordingly, what emerges from

the said quotation are the following facts:

1. Both the analogy and the approach are misleading.

2. Castro's total ignorance of the historical background and local condition of the Horn;

3. That the specific problem of one region can not be generalised as a common problem of the world.

4. Castro depicts himself as being the centre of power of the Ethiopian regime.

Therefore, he is not speaking for Cuba per se when he demands «We absolutely refuse to discuss the immediate with-

drawal of Cuban combatants in Ethiopia».

Above all, two striking pictures emerges from Castro's speech: his total ignorance of the history, prevailing realities of the Horn and his being as tool of a super power domination of the African continent.

In conclusion, it is an imperative demand that the nonaligned countries expel Cuba from their movement because of her being a tool of super power in the Horn of Africa. In short, history will not absolve Castro for his policies of reaction and retrogression in the Horn of Africa in collusion with the Russian backing of the Ethiopian colonialism and subjugation of the people of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea.

SINCE EIGHT YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY EXISTENCE CONSTANT ORIENTATION AND GUIDANCE HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO THE VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA IN ORDER TO GIVE THEM THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTAKE IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNTRY SO AS TO RESTORE UNITY OF THOUGHT AND OBJECTIVES.

Jaalle Siad

1.5.1978

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Jaalle Siad visits Egypt & Saudi Arabia

The Secretary-General of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, and a delegation led by him wound up a four-day visit to Egypt and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the 10th of May.

During their stay in Egypt, the presidential delegation had talks with Egyptian leaders on the strengthening of the brotherly relations between Somalia and Egypt, the Horn of African situation and other Arab affairs.

The participants of the talks on the Somali side were: **President Mohamed Siad Barre, Minister of the presidential affairs Jaalle Omar Arteh Qalib, Commander of the Victory Pioneers Jaalle Colonel Abdirahman Abdi and the Somali charge d'Affairs in Egypt.** The Egyptian officials in the talks included **President Anwar Sadat, Vice-President Hosni Mubarak and other officials.** The talks were crowned with success.

The SDR President also met **Ja'ffar Numeiri, the President of Sudan** who was also on a visit to Egypt.

Speaking to pressmen at the presidency upon his return home, Jaalle Siad disclosed that his talks with President Anwar Sadat had ended in understanding and that they had a convergence of views on issues discussed, and added that the talks dealt with the consolidation of the fraternal relations binding the two countries, Arab affairs and other international issues.

Commenting on his talks with President Ja'ffar Numeiri of Sudan and his current efforts at reviving Arab solidarity, Jaalle Siad expressed his confidence at Numeiri's mission, which he said is beneficial to the Arab cause. President Siad pointed out that no one is in doubt about the fact that the capabilities and interests of the Arab peoples are better advanced by their so-

lidarity and cooperation and that their differences only serve the interests of their enemies.

On his visit to Saudi Arabia, President Siad had talks with Saudi leaders on matters concerning bilateral relations, the Horn affairs and other global questions. Both sides expressed similar views on the issues discussed.



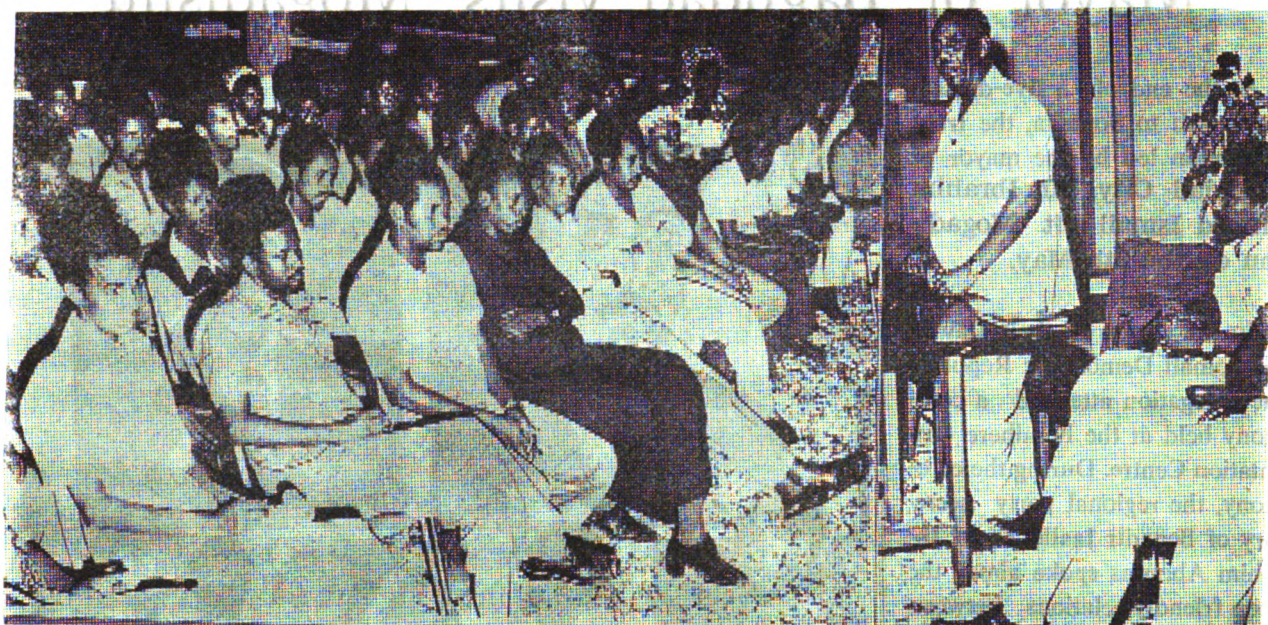
Kulmiye opens a seminar

On May 7th a forty-five day seminar on the re-organization and consolidation of the rural development campaign for 354 leaders and elders, from the various regions of the country was officially opened by Vice President Hussein Kulmie Afrah. The Minister of Local governments and Rural development, Jaalle Jama Mohamed Qalib also attended the opening ceremony.

Jaalle Kulmie highlighted on the occasion the importance and purpose of the seminar which he said would help in the exchange of views and ideas among the inhabitants of various regions of the country. He underscored the advantages of self-reliance and confidence in one's abilities through which Somalia achieved great successes including among others the sand-dune

stabilization project in Shalam-bod. «The fact that we have afforested and stabilized the sand dunes has disapproved the advice of foreign experts that nothing can be done about the sand dunes since there was no oil in the country», Jaalle Kulmie said. He also pointed out the benefits of unity and solidarity in view of the current political situation in the country.

A symposium on mass-media ends



A symposium for the mass media staff which opened at the ministry of Information and National Guidance on the 10th of May was officially closed by the Secretary General of the SRSP President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on 21st of May.

Lectures were delivered during its ten days of deliberation by ministers, party bureau chairmen and rep-

resentatives of liberation movements on the effectiveness and efficiency of mass media in the life and activities of the society in many aspects and emphasized that the written and oral literature and guidance given by the media should be aimed at creating an efficient working Society. The fact that the work of the mass media is difficult and hazardous and calls for diligence and the skill to use the mass

media facilities was discussed.

Addressing the participants of the symposium in its final day, the President Jaalle Siad said that it is necessary for writers and composers to first have patriotic feeling, knowledge and be capable to have a method in which they would express something to the people, basing it on science.

The Writers and compo-

sers are the spokesmen of the nation and the convey to the people the Revolution's policy in economy, education and social affairs, the President declared.

Writers and composers should be mature, politically an mentally and their political consciousness must be high. Only then could they transmit the aspirations of the revolution and the nation towards progress and prosperity, he said. Jaalle Siad went on to say that the mass media staff shoulder a great responsibility in the development of

their nation and the raising of the political consciousness of the society so as to catch up with the developed world. He said it is part of the goals of the revolution to train every person in his profession with the objective of making him more knowledgeable and capable which in turn increases his efficiency and activities.

Once we know that knowledge and technology enhance the value of sovereignty and that the world is changing day after day, it is the policy of the revolution to promote and increase the

training of the national staff, Jaalle Siad said. The President said that once the benefits of seminars and symposiums have become appreciated, it is necessary to launch more advanced technical training programs in view to enhance the skills and know-how of the workers.

The President praised the achievements of the Information staff during the revolutionary era and their courage, solidarity and readiness on facing up to difficulties.

Mayor of Baghdad visits Mogadishu

At the end of a five-day official visit to Somalia, the Iraqi delegation led by the mayor of Baghdad City, Mr. Ibrahim Ahmed Ismail left Mogadishu on the 8th May.

In the course of their stay in the Somali Democratic Republic the delegation attended a ceremony held at the Bondhere Orientation Centre. During the ceremony, the regional party secretary of Benadir Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim Abouras spoke about the deep friendly relations between Somalia and Iraq. Mr Ismail the mayor of Baghdad made a similar speech in which he highlighted the relations between Somali and Iraq and his appreciation of Somali's development.

The main purpose of their visit was to strengthen cooperation between the cities of Mogadishu and Baghdad and the brotherly relations between Somalia and Iraq.

The delegation also toured several regions in the SDR. While in Kismayo they visited several agricultural development



projects undertaken in Jamama and the Equator at Sanguni.

Briefing newsmen before his departure, Mr Ismail expressed his appreciation of Somalia's development during the revolutionary era. He said his talks with Somali officials was crowned with success and added that they had agreed to exchan-

ge visits and ideas. He cited the Petroleum Refinery Plant constructed in Mogadishu as an indication of the good cooperation between Somalia and Iraq. He extended his gratitude to the mayor of Mogadishu and other officials of Benadir region for the warm welcome accorded to his delegation.

EEC Commissioner in Somalia

An EEC delegation led by Mr. Claude Cheysson, the European Economic Commissioner for development paid a one day visit to Somalia on the 24th of May.

Speaking to pressmen at the airport upon arrival, Mr. Cheysson said his visit was concerned with promoting SDR/EEC cooperation. He said the European Economic Community has assisted the Somali democratic Republic to finance several development projects since the Lome Convention.

Mr. Cheysson disclosed that he would have talks with Somali officials during his stay on ways of promoting SDR/EEC relations.

Mr. Cheysson who was on his second visit to the SDR and his delegation were warmly received at the airport by the Economic Bureau Chairman Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamuud, the minister of Public Works Jaalle Mohamed Hawadle Madar, the Am-



bassadors of France and Britain to Somalia and other Somali officials.

The delegation was received by the President Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre in his office and had discussions with him on the SDR/EEC relations and cooperation. They had also talks with other Somali officials which ended in success.

The talks were mainly centred on projects financed by the EEC in Somalia and others to be financed in the future by the EEC community.

An agreement was signed between the EEC and the SDR on the training of pilots for the New Mogadishu Port and financing of Port facilities by the Community.

Masses support Liberation Movements

A mass rally of more than **eighty thousand of Mogadishu** inhabitants at the unknown Soldier Monument on 26th May in support of the Eritrean, Western Somali and Abbo Liberation fronts was addressed by the SDR vice-president Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor who said, history proves that no force can stop or crush a liberation struggle once the people feel the urge to free themselves.

Those forces who have allied themselves to crush the Eritrean Revolution would

surely meet catastrophe and defeat, he added.

It is a misfortune that the Russians and Cubans who only yesterday were supporting the Eritrean Revolution are now bent on destroying them and siding with the black Abyssinian colonialism, the vice President said.

Jaalle Ismail noted the Russian betrayal of the Eritrean revolution is not the first it has committed against African peoples. He said that the Russians always

dishonor agreements they enter with other parties whenever they realize that they cannot use it for their own ends. He cited the Russian behaviour towards Somalia, Sudan and Egypt as out-standing examples.

The vice-president declared that Somalia pursues on clear policy of unswerving support to liberation movements and said that it will continue this policy. He stressed that Somalia will support the Eritrean Revolution since, he pointed out, the Eritrean cause is a just



one as are those of Western Somali and Abbo peoples. He dismissed Mengistu's claims of victory as hollow and wondered how long he would rely on Russian and Cuban

military presence to prop his colonial occupation of Eritrea and Western Somalia.

He spoke about the historical struggle of Eritrean

people and praised them for their courage, steadfastness and iron-will in their liberation struggle.

The mass rally was also addressed by Mr. Omar Abdalla, a central committee member of the Eritrean Liberation Front. Mr. Omar highlighted the Eritrean liberation struggle of the Eritrean people and Abyssinian colonial oppression on them. He noted that the Eritrean people has many friends to support them in their struggle for their freedom and declared that they would continue their armed struggle till total liberation is achieved no matter how long it takes and at any cost.

Cuba Violates the principle of Non-Alignment

The SDR government again called for the expulsion of Cuba from the nonalignment movement since Cuba has slandered the dignity and name of non-aligned world by serving Russia.

The permanent representative of Somalia at the United Nations on May 14th which was delivered to all the representatives of the non-aligned countries at the United Nations Organization.

«It is astonishing to let Cuba, which has grossly transgressed the very basic principles and spirit of non-alignment to be a member of the non-aligned world which forbids any member to ally itself with one of the two big powers», the SDR permanent secretary stated in his call. The statement further described the relations between Russia and Cuba as that of master and

servant by which Russia employs Cuba militarily, economically and politically for its own ends. It said, Cuba has tacitly accepted the employment of its forces by Russia to defend Russian interests. The permanent SDR representative said in his statement, «more than 50 thousand of Cuba's regular troops are now in Africa to execute and realize the Russian objective of subjugating the Western Somali, Abbo, Affar and Eritrean liberation front. This is a clear evidence of the way Russia uses Cuban troops».

Cuban military intervention in purely African affairs has created trouble and confusion in the continent since Cuba is aiming at crushing peoples struggling for their inalienable rights to self-determination and that Cuban mercenaries have sl-

ughtered many African peoples, the statement added. Cuba has defiantly violated the 1961 agreement of the non-aligned countries to refrain from the rivalry of the big powers. Russian and Cuban activities pose a great danger to the security and stability of Africa and world peace, said the statement.

The SDR permanent representative at the UNO reminded the non-aligned world of the organization's principle to support those peoples struggling for their independence. He also warned of the dangers of letting the next conference of non-aligned nations to be held in Cuba, which he said will slander the name and dignity of the organization, endanger world peace and render the organization a Russian instrument manipulated by it for its own ends and objectives.

Press conference by Minister of Information on the Escalating conflict in the Horn

It is a pleasure for me to welcome you to this press conference on the escalating conflict in the Horn of Africa brought to a head by the Abyssinian Colonialism together with the collaboration of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Cuba and their allies who flagrantly interfered in the affairs of Africa and the Horn in particular.

It is known to all that Mengistu Hailè Mariam makes constant threats and provocations against the Somali Democratic Republic the latest of which was his declaration at Jigjiga to the effect that he will use force to crush Somalia.

This stream of threats by Mengistu was not of his own making; but rather he is voicing the intention of the Russians and their allies in pursuit of their global strategic designs to subdue one country after another. you are aware that the roots of the current conflict in the Horn of Africa go back to history when at the end of last century the Abyssinian colonialists occupied other territories and peoples as part of its participation in the partition of Africa by their European colonial powers. In this connection, the colonized people of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea had no other option but to take up arms, a process that led them to liberate about 95% of their territory. Till then, the conflict was strictly limited to the Abyssinian colonizers and the colonized peoples. This



was, however dangerously aggravated by the direct intervention of the Russians, Cubans and their allies with the objective of crushing the liberation struggles of the peoples of western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea. Since the assumption of the responsibility of the war operation on behalf of the Abyssinian regime, the allied forces have brought untold sufferings to these peoples indiscriminately massacring and looting and destroying their livelihood. As a consequence, hundreds of thousands were forced to seek refuge in neighbouring countries, in Somalia, Djibuti etc.

The Somali Democratic Republic policy regarding the matter has always been a clear one: to seek a negotiated solution in a brotherly African context based on justice and peace, so as to avert the shedding of African blood and preclude foreign intervention which in no way benefits Africa.

Somalia has called for the following:

1. An immediate cease-fire;
2. Withdrawal of foreign troops from the horn of Africa;
3. To organize negotiations through the OAU.
4. And the recognition of the rights of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea to determine their own destiny.

However, the peaceful and good intentions of the Somali Democratic Republic were to no avail; the conflict has been conflagrated to more dangerous proportions. The Mengistu regime is ever more inciting war and Russian, Cuban, and other allies forces and troop deployment into the region has been on the increase. Thus, the warning and concern expressed by Somalia has come to be true.

Somalia has expressed its concern that this allied aggression invasion and aggre-

ssion would not be limited to this region but that would eventually engulf many other countries in the area.

As has been recently declared by Mengistu a joint Russian, Cuban, East German and south Yemeni military invasion is underway to liquidate the Eritrean people and reinstate Abyssian Colonialism in the region.

This increasing foreign intervention is being compounded by the deployment of Cuban troops to another country in the zone, with the objective of invading another independent country.

Moreover, the Abyssinians and their patrons have now turned their attention to destabilize the Republic of Djibouti by encouraging tribal strife among the population and infiltrating recruited trouble-makers into the country who among others things, abduct people

so as to undermine the unity and sovereignty of the country. The purpose of Abyssinians and its allies intervention in the affairs of the Republic of Djibouti is to divert the attention of the people from the struggles of the peoples of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrean. All these actions are part of the Russian designs to dominate and control the whole region without regard to the Sovereignty and rights of the peoples in the region.

The Somali Democratic Republic condemns this flagrant interference by the Russians and their surrogates in Africa in particular the Horn as obviously the presence of their troops endangers the peace of the region, Africa and the World at large.

The Somali Democratic Republic reiterates its call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Horn

of Africa region so that a just and peaceful settlement can be realized.

The Somali Democratic Republic calls the OAU, African governments and all peace-loving peoples to address themselves to the policies experimented in this region which violate the rights of the peoples living here and the rights of Africans to solve their own problems, which, if not checked, will lead to the use of force in this world to enforce policies and realize objectives.

The Somali Democratic Republic calls on the Non-aligned community of nations to expel Cuba from the Organisation since it has grossly transgressed the very basic principles and spirit of non-alignment by rendering itself an instrument to a big power.

Spokesman comment on Eritrea

A Statement made by a ministry of information spokesman late May declared that the Addis-Ababa regime continues to willingly serve as a tool of the forces of intervention and general destabilization in Africa. Neighbouring countries and Eritrea are increasingly feeling the pressure of hostile foreign encroachment using Ethiopia as a base of operation. The people of Eritrea are facing the danger of imminent invasion by a combined Soviet-Cuban, Ethiopia and other allied forces aimed at forcing them into total submission to the Men

gistu regime.

The large scale participation of foreign combat troops in the invasion of Eritrea does not only endanger the struggle of the Eritrean Freedom Fighters but poses a serious threat to the security, independence and progress of countries neighbouring Eritrea. The present Ethiopian regime in its policy of prompting foreign intervention and interference in the area, has spared no effort in attempting to undermine the independence, unity and peaceful development of the Republic of Djibuti.

Despite highly destructive and serious acts of wanton interference the neighbouring states of Ethiopia remain steadfast in their rejection and active opposition to all acts of interventionism and interference, concluded the statement.

The Eritrean Liberation Struggle has been going on for almost 18 years, during which the Eritrean people have experienced great triumphs in the battle field and difficulties as well. However the Eritrean people are confident they would win their independence no

matter how long it takes them to do so. «The brutal and inhuman invasion of the unholy allied troops of Russia, Cuba, East Germany, South Yemen and the Adis regime on Eritrea will not stop the armed Eritrean liberation struggle», declared Mr. Omar Abdalla a member of the EPLF, central committee on 17th May at a press conference in confidence in the abilities Mogadishu. He expressed his of the heroic Eritrean liberation fighters to teach unforgettable lessons to the allied troops who are aiming at securing the strategic Eritrean country for their own vicious interests.

The head of the EPLF of-

fice in Mogadishu Mr, Hamud Mohamed Adan condemned at the press conference the unholy allies on their sinister activities and objectives which he said, is aimed at annihilating the Eritrean people.

«Their sinister invasion of Eritrea directly contradicts their declared policies of assisting liberation movements; they have now transformed themselves to forces aimed at crushing and destroying liberation struggles», he said.

The ELF representative in Mogadishu Mr, Mohamed Nur Ahmed who also briefed reporters at the press

conference disclosed that the Ethiopian troops have perpetrated unlawfull and sordid invasion on liberated Eritrea, massacring children, old men, women and innocent civilians in the process. They are carrying out inhuman and brutal activities in liberated Eritrea he said. The ELF, EPLF representatives called on the Eritrean people to unite against Ethiopian colonialists. They also called on the U.N. the OAU, the Arab league and all International Organizations and freedom loving peoples to address themselves to the Eritrean cause and counter the danger now facing the Eritrean people.

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CULTURE AND ART



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INFLECTIONS IN THE SOMALI LANGUAGE

by A. M. HIZAM

The spoken language, being a primary human need, is essential to be acquired by man but the study of the language and the understanding of its nature might seem less demanding. However in the process of developing and enriching a language it is of a paramount importance to study and understand its essential features by employing theoretical entities of Linguistics, Semantics and Psychological implications of the language.

Some philosophers contend that language is an extremely complicated form of Social behavior and demands to be studied through the detailed analysis of individual words and expressions. This contention is more applicable to the Somali rather than the English language. The premise of reasoning to support such choice has its basis on the structural description of the Somali language which depends on inflectional changes and differs from the English which is syntactical. To be more precise, the study of the English language might be best approached by analysing its sentences & their inference relations while the analysis of the Somali Language demands more focussing on the inflectional changes of the individual words and their usage.

Accordingly, in English the significance of word order dominates the formulation of its syntactical analysis or transfor-

mational rules. This is why some linguists contend the possibility of categorising grammatically acceptable English sentences within the boundaries of several specified kernel sentence patterns. Hence, a sentence, like «The man ate the meat», falling under the kernel sentence pattern of noun-verb-noun resist word transpositions as «The meat ate the man», «The man the meat ate» «Ate the man the meat» etc., as such changes in word order will violate the meaning or grammaticality of the sentence and the outcome will be considered as a nonsensical group of words.

Unlike English, the word order doesn't restrict the transposition of the constituent structures in the Somali language. All possible transpositions of words in a sentence is permissible without affecting either the grammaticality or meaning of the sentence. Thus the ordering of words in the same sentence can be transposed as «Ninkii wuu cunay hilibkii», «Hilibkii wuu cunay ninkii», «Wuu cunay ninkii hilibkii», etc. In this sentence the first word order follows suit to the aforementioned English sentence pattern but the difference lies as its other diversified changes in word order maintain the meaning and grammatically acceptable new patterns. Through out such changes in word order it could be noticed that even in some cases there is no need of inflectional trans-

formations for the agreement among the transposed words. This mainly depends on the type of preverbials used in the sentence. For instance, if the preverbial «baa» is employed in the same sentence to substitute «Wuu» an inflectional change occurs on the preverbial as word order is changed to make it agree with the transposed nouns and becomes «buu» instead of «baa» as in «Ninkii baa cunay hilibkii» and «Hilibkii buu cunay ninkii».

The above illustrations indicate that, as word order is not so significant to bind within boundaries the positions of words in the Somali sentence, the theory of the language is first the theory of words. In this way the usage, meaning and extensions of individual words characterise the sentencehood of the Somali language. In other words as the Somali language is inflectional rather than syntactical it is more appropriate to approach the language by analysing the inflectional formations and transformations on the individual words and how such inflections affect the structure.

From such contention it can be inferred that the inflections in the Somali language can be employed to the extent of constituting an agreement among the components of a sentence as well as dominating the meaning and function of the word through transformations. Ac-

cordingly, through inflectional changes a verb and an adjective can be driven from the same root (noun) and all the three words can be employed in one sentence while each serving the imposed meaning and function. For illustration, if the suffix «san» is added to the root word, the adjective «wanaagsan» (good) is formed which is different in meaning and function from the noun «wanaag». Further if the suffix «i» is added to the noun instead of «san» the new word «wanaaji» is formed which functions as a verb. Hence, we can string these three words together by placing the preverbal «ku» before the verb and also a noun to precede the adjective. The formed sentence is written as «Wanaag ku wanaaji nin wanaagsan» which is sensible and acceptable grammatically.

More over, the inflectional changes can transform the verbs into nouns by the addition of suffixes as: «d», «id», «sho», «mo», etc., as «soco» (walk) — «socod», «tag» (go) «tagid» «qabo» (catch) — «qabasho» «dey» (look) — «deymo».

In still another level of inflectional changes the noun classes of gender, number etc. are formed. In the case of forming the masculine and feminine gender suffixes are added to the nouns such as «ka», «ga», «a» «ta» «da», «sha», etc, as in «wilka» (boy), «diigga» (Cock), «Libaaxa» (Lion), «naagta» (Lady), «bisadda» (cat), «hasha» (camel).

In number the singular form of the nouns are affixed to transform them to plurals as «far» (finger) — «faro», «Waji» (face) — «wajiyo», hooyo (mother) — «hooyooyin» «wadne» (heart) — «wadnayaal» af (mouth) -afaf. So far the attempt was to delineate how inflectional changes affect both meaning and function of

the individual words of the Somali language. Now, to show how the words are structured together to form sentences, the trace needs to be sought in the way that the constituents of the sentence are related to one another. Here, again, the approach is through the inflectional changes on the individual words which establish an agreement among the constituents of a structure, as in the two sentences «Wiilka ayaa taga» (The boy goes) and «Naagta ayaa tagta» (The lady goes). In both sentences there is an agreement between the nouns and the verbs by adopting suffixes of the same function. The inflectional changes that establish such agreement is the masculine and feminine suffixes «a» and «ta» of the verbs which in function correspond to those of the nouns «Ka» and «Ta».

The inflectional changes in both sentences occur on the nouns and verbs but the preverbal «ayaa» doesn't change in such sentences as it can serve another purpose. Unlike other preverbials, the type in these sentences can be shortened and affixed to the suffixes of the nouns as in «Naagta tagta» while not changing the meaning of the sentence. But when such shortening form of preverbials is not possible, the preverbials undergo inflectional changes in agreement with the nouns as in «Wiilku wuu tagaa» and «Naagtu way tagtaa». These two sentences correspond to the preceding ones in every other aspect except that in the latter the suffixes of the third person singular is in a shortened form affixed to that of the gender. The combined suffixes transform the gender suffixes from «Ka» to «Ku» and «Ta» to «Tu» in the nouns, while in the verbs the changes are from «a» to «aa» and «ta» to «taa».

As through inflectional changes this type of preverbials change from «Wuu» to «way» the combined suffixes of the nouns and verbs change to establish agreement among all the three words in the sentence.

Such preverbal inflectional changes are more obvious when pronouns are employed instead of nouns, such as:

- «waan tagaa» (I) go.
- «wuu tagaa» (He) goes.
- «waad tagtaa» (yOu) go.
- «way tagtaa» (she) goes.
- «waannu tagnaa» (we) go.-exclusive.
- «waynu tagnaa» (we) go. inclusive.
- «way tagaan» (they) go.

As before we can group the suffixes of the verbs as masculine and feminine which in the combination of suffixes fall under four groups as «aa», «taa», «naa» and «aan». The latter two suffixes don't conform to the gender - pronoun combination as they represent both sexes. But no two preverbials have the same inflectional changes except «Way». This shows that such preverbials don't only agree with their pronouns but can also substitute them in most cases as the pronouns are after omitted as in the above illustration. «Way» as an exceptional preverbal substitutes both «She» and «They» but the unique combined suffix «aan» in the verb maintains both the gender and pronoun function of «They».

All in all, from these speculations one can notice the significance of inflectional changes that play a fundamental role by adding substance to the study of the Somali language. Therefore to develop and enrich the language we need research Works or serious studies for extending and deepening the understanding of the linguistic structures of the Somali Language.

THEORETICAL ISSUES



MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

by Mohamud A. Ali (Bayr)

To gain a deep understanding and insight into the nature, meaning, categories, tendencies and laws of historical progress we have analytically and synthetically lay down a multi-sided, probing and relatively watertight theoretic framework giving us the essence and criterion of social progress, its driving forces, motivations, and the complex interplay of elements, systems, social laws and interconnections. With the help of this we ascertain to frame up an approach to a social whole encompassing all the aspects of social development. The superiority of Marxist - Leninist Views on historical progress lies in its holistic, integrated and systematic approach to progress in all its dimensions, natural and social, the material and the spiritual, etc. Thus with its wholesome scientific analysis, Marxist — Leninist outlook with regard to this theme, is counterposed to the one-sided, partial and subjective views propounded by the countless idealistic views.

The theoretical and analytical methodology of Marxism — Leninism hinges on the well tried and tested tools of proceeding from the general to the particular, from the abstract to the concrete. This methodology is singularly brought out by Marx's Tome, *Das Capital* can also be intimately felt in all his other writings, particularly in the German ideology and in the

preface, «Introduction to the critique of political economy,» published in 1859, eight years before the publication of Volume I of *Capital*. In principle with regard to the theme of historical progress, a comprehensive outline shedding light necessitates the setting out of its essence, and the criterion which objectively can act as an honest and scientific determinant.

ESSENCE AND CRITERION OF HISTORICAL PROGRESS:

A strict dialectical approach to the study of phenomena and processes instructs one to probe into the essences of things, and not to be sidetracked by the superficial attraction of the mere aggregation of externally governed phenomena, which is the hallmark of the modern empirical positivistic school of bourgeois science. Accordingly K. Marx's point of departure is a dialectical materialist search into social phenomenon. The following passage clearly brings out the real content of Marx's Views: «In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real found-

ations, on which rises legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The material production of material life conditions the political, social and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary their social being determines their social consciousness». This brief quotation clearly brings out Marx's attitude to social development, and this really defines the Marxist approach to social progress. The socio-economic formation, and the intimate connection between the productive forces, and relations of production (Property relations) goes into the core to give us a true picture of society, and the prediction of its organic movement.

Socio-economic formations follow one another, and in their succession constitutes an overall historical advances. The productive forces the more dynamic aspect of the mode of production in as much as it contains the vital and crucial dimensions of social life, in other words the implements of production and man and his skills, is made to develop by historical necessity. Historical necessity springs from the ever expanding needs of man, and these needs are both material and spiritual. The increase in population and the other vertical and horizontal needs of

society, divided into classes and thus class needs brings life historico-logical laws helping society to move forward. However Marxist - Leninist view is diametrically opposed to the vulgar mechanistic views which argues:

1. That the former socio-economic formation did not have any good at all;

2. That accordingly the old socio-economic formation has to be completely naged.

Rejecting the above mechanistic approach it sets out the continuity of the historical process, which at the sametime is characterised by leaplike discontinuous and upward movements, which on the one hand retains all that was good in the former socio-economic formation, civilisation, and cumulative human culture, while on the other hand, through the social revolution, ushering a new era engendered by a new socio-economic form. In other words socialism constitutes a higher social system than capitalism.

Be that as it may the profundity inherent in scientific socialism, particularly in its adherence to the interconnection of things and phenomena, and their interpenetration with regard to the superstructural planes in terms of the domain of intellectual culture reduces the above mechanistic assumptions untenable. Scientific outlook from which socialist ideas flow sees historical progress as an intimate connection between the past and present, and through this medium a general forecast of the future tendencies are laid down. But these tendencies are only advanced as tendencies and never as ultimate, given and irreversible truths; and this goes to prove the openness, all-round-

dedness and objective nature of the scientific outlook, which is capable of capturing the imaginations of realities here and now, while additionally meeting the requirements of future generations to come.

Marxist outlook, however partisan in class terms, does not blind itself to the tempestuous path that social progress has to endure, and accordingly it spells out the antagonistic and contradictory nature of the whole nation of historical progress in class society by singling out the points below set:-

a. The admission that historical progress is never a steady straight ascent from the lower to the higher. In this context marxism-leninism, as a scientific outlook does and has to admit that historical progress is from time to time subject to zigzags and unevenness. Globally, social development is an ascent; however, that does not save this process from sudden regressive lurches and reverses. The import of this admission clearly explains to us the relative successes of fascism in the 1920s and 1930s in Europe and even today the Chilean experience is a continuation of this periodic reverses, which just like adverse biological mutations mars the organic progressive development of social life. All the same, despite the momentary reverses, the universal rule overriding the specific, turns out to be an all-rounded advancement of both natural and social phenomena and processes, and this accordingly constitutes a meaningful guiding line for the oppressed classes' political organisation in their vanguard role to struggle for a better and more humane world.

b. The contradictoriness of historical progress in class society is evidenced by the tremendous growth of technological and scientific revolution which is inevitable, since this is determined by the socio-economic needs of society. However economic progress, in class society, particularly under capitalism, sectoral and territorial-wise is not matched by a balanced, and harmonious growth of its social whole. Growth is usually a perverted, distorted and uneven phenomena whereby the astronomic technico-economic growth does not synchronise with the socio-spiritual and moral impoverishment. With all the technico-economic blessings capitalist society has to contend with certain economic zones and regions where unimaginable poverty, squalor, shantytowns, increasing gulf between town and country, feature prominently. From this spring, or rather is inherent in it, certain objective historicological laws defining relationships between countries and peoples in terms of the polarisation between capital and labour, skilled and manual labour, and the concomitant superior and subordinate nexus characteristic in such a situation.

Another corresponding import of the contradictoriness of historical progress in exploitative society is its adverse effect on the social uses emanating from the economic and technical blessing of material advancement. A lopsided evaluation of all categories governs a class whereby opulence and poverty, richness and sub-human existence, the height of cultural attainment along with the lack of it, coexist and are coterminous. Production surpluses, instead of satisfying human want is burnt away as in the case

of wheat surpluses in the U.S.A., or as in the case of apple surpluses in Italy and France thrown into the sea. What is good for human consumption, under capitalist intrinsic economic laws the interplay of demand and supply are counteropposing, and the former in the credit and debit account of capitalist enterprise has to be sacrificed for the more profitable oriented latter choice.

Thus an exploitative society notwithstanding its tremendous development of productive forces, both natural and human stumbles to seriously harness the spiritual and truly beautiful moral qualities of man.

THE PATH TO GENUINE HUMAN PROGRESS

Human progress has to afford us a macroscopic picture of the world in which we live, by taking up and generalising, connecting all categories, phenomena of natural, social and human thought processes. Accordingly it has to engulf all facets of social life. Further it needs an ideological choice based on the welfare of the vast majority of mankind, which needless can only comprise the toiling masses of any given society. For this very reason socialism as the latest most scientific outlook, equipping the exploited and oppressed classes to overthrow the capitalist system, which has outlived its prime, and deserves, as Engels long ago predicted, to be carted into the museum of antiquity.

In its less than century ex-

istence socialism has proved its viability and vitality for the onward and heightened ascendant evolution of progressive social development of man.

Socialism's superiority to capitalism is attested to by the points below enumerated:

1 The tremendous organising power which socialism gives to the working masses has had highly favourable impact on the technico-economic wealth of society thereby ensuring a continuous and permanent ascendant process promising the production of an abundance for all to enjoy;

2. The possibilities of steady progress is made tenable by the planned and scientifically founded character of socialist development, which is conscious and purposive activity as opposed to the spontaneous and anarchic nature of development as engendered by capitalism.

Socialist planning whose efficacy is more and more being admitted even by the bourgeois social thinkers is being developed through the improvement wrought upon socialist management of all socialist process, gradually voluntarist and bureaucratic tendencies are being tackled;

3. Contradictions exist in all socio-economic formations, even under socialism. But socialism has the added value of understanding the natural and social laws in operations, and by virtue of this a guided and conscious direction beneficial to society is achieved;

4. Socialist historical progress is never one-sided and subjective, and is not, as argued by some quarters, attained by the violation of individual rights. For the first time under socialism man's all-sided potentialities are tapped. This is made to flourish through the correct and dialectical handling of the unity between the philosophical categories of the individual and social, the particular and universal, in the framework of enabling man to leave the realm of circumscribing necessity of cross over to the realm of real freedom.

In Conclusion through the fervent belief in man as a social being, embodying all the infinite and creative potentialities to set him really free, given the right social system, which alone only Socialism can masterfully meet, can give us the true perspective to enrich and deepen the inexhaustible reservoir still open for historical progress. Man, shaped by liberating class outlook in close unity with millions of similar minded and inspired collective can, through the engagement in the constructive tasks of the social revolution, sweep all the destructive debris which is inherited from the selfishly-narrow minded parochial, and stultified past, to build in its place a truly classless society free of suffering abject poverty, and the exploitation of man by man. It is then that man can at last stand on his feet, and fully realise his immeasurable worth.

BOOKS & DOCUMENTS



THE PRESIDENT'S MAY DAY SPEECH

Here are high-light excerpts from the speech:

It is a great pleasure for us all, to meet here for the purpose of honouring the celebration of 1st May and the importance we attach to it the 1st day of the workers as well as the 1st Anniversary of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions.

Therefore, it is a great honour to extend a warm greetings and congratulations to all the Somali workers wherever they may be and the working class the world over, on their celebrations of the great day of the workers that is 1st of May

I hope that Somali workers will triumph in their struggle for the progress and unity of their nation. I wish for the international working class to succeed in their fight against exploitation, reactionary forces and imperialism.

Comrades, the history of the human society has shown us the major role played by the organized workers in the material progress of humanity. It is Only workers who have made it possible through their labour and excellence in changing the life of the society, strengthening the class struggle of the workers for being the vanguard of a socialist revolution, for the building of a new life without the exploitation of man by man.

The workers who became the

victims of exploitation, oppression and colonial subjugation have been forced to wage a permanent struggle for the realisation of their objectives and aspirations. Besides, they became the vanguard for the rest of the working people their building of a new society based on labour, equality and justice. Their realization of the above objectives have made the workers the vanguard of the society which made it imperative to organize themselves into unions to fight for their rights and class interests. The Somali Democratic Republic has its own peculiar setting Somali workers are living within the framework of this this setting which has affected

production and political consciousness. Although the Revolution of 21st October and the SRSP, had, made the achievement of series of consecutive victories that became of value for the betterment of the living standard of the Somali masses, it is true however, that some segment of the workers have not reached the desired level of political maturity. The major cause of this setback is socio-economic structure of our society which has nourished

with the idea of tribalism, and the political backwardnesses of the society. The imperialists and reactionary elements are using tribalism as a tool for the achievement of their sinister policies. However, history has proven the withering away of tribalism. There-



fore workers are needed to become the vanguard force in the elimination of the enemy of our nation.

Likewise, this problem has been fanned by imperialist propaganda, exaggeration, reactionary, who all have one common objective that is undermining the march of the Revolution by defending their class interests. Hence, there is a need for the workers to become the cause and source for economic growth strengthening increases in their income and in general the betterment of their living standard is directly connected with the building of socialist society, the productivity of the workers and the level of their political maturity.

The revolution of 21st Octo-

ber did not limit itself alone in increasing the number of the workers, but has taken drastic steps pertaining to the betterment of the general interests of the workers with respect to mobilization and the widening of the economic scope. It is for these reasons that the Revolution has instituted numerous laws which the latest were issued in 1977. Among the said laws are: Skill Labour law which was officially published on 1st May 1977. The said law has encouraged Skill workers and has been the biggest step in the reorganization of the workers wages and salaries as being among the central target of the Revolution with respect to jobs and development. Thus a national committee was established for the implementation of the skill labour law.

Workers who have benefited from the ongoing examination total 11,225 individuals. The benefits derived are economic ones in terms of the increase in wages and salary and certificates in terms of obtaining recognition of their knowledge. The workers have their permanent representatives in various committees at national level dealing with matters concerning workers. Among the said committees are the following.

A government employees and non-government employees complaints overseeing committee;

B. Establishment committee;

C. National Economic commission;

D. Committee for the implementation of the Skill labour law;

E. National planning commission;

F. Promotion and award committee;

G. National acquisition, tender, and development committee.

The above achievements pin point to us a promising future. Before the Revolution, workers were at loggerhead with colonialists and internal reaction. These two elements objected to the policies intended for the betterment of the living standard of the workers. Accordingly, they split workers, degraded skill labour and the needy.

It is therefore, an imperative task of the workers to protect and safeguard the gains of the Revolution which are the base for their future, struggle since a revolution has no value without being able to defend it self.

Comrades, we have to ask our selves: What are the roles to be taken by the workers in the progress of our country? The answer is, the Somali workers have taken an indelible dynamic role crowned with honours and medals in recognition of the said roles in their continuous works associated with the process of nation building. The workers were the vanguard in all the above endeavours. It must be observed that when the Revolution was born, it was decided to build our country with the help of our mental and physical labour and in consideration of our economic capability. Then our workers pledged to contribute their salaries which was the only asset that they owned, to contribute some to the development sector for widening the productive capacity of our economy, and for the recruitment of new workers in the labour force. Also, when the struggle of the Somali national liberation movements has reached

the peak point of gravity, the Somali workers had pledged again to contribute their wages and salaries as well as their lives for the liberation cause of their brethren.

Comrades, international imperialism and the reactionary forces are trying to undermine our Revolution for the realisation of their sinister reactionary interests. The recent defeated coup attempt headed by small group was serving the interests of Foreign powers. This action reminds us that neo-imperialism and its lackeys have not yet given up and that they are ignorant of the fact that the vigilance and solidarity of the Somali people would be strengthened whenever they try to raise up their heads. The Somali people hold their glorious Revolution with the Utmost trust and that they are ready to defend its gains and objectives.

As you may recall, since eight years of Revolutionary existence constant orientation and guidance have been given to the various social strata in order to give them the opportunity to partake in the activities of the country so as to restore unity of thought and objectives. However, we have now reached a stage where we could no longer tolerate those anti-revolutionaries who are raising their heads and those colonialist and international imperialist puppets would be treated in appropriate manner.

Comrades, with respect to the present conflict in the horn of Africa, the SDR has on several occasions made it clear and still maintains that the issue is one between two African peoples and as such it rests with them to find a neighbourly Africanist solution. In fact the solution of the con-

flict serve the interests of all the nations of the region.

The SDR, feels itself obliged to support all liberation movements such as those in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine, Western Somalia, Abo and Eritrea. It is because of our belief that these peoples are fighting for their human rights and the determination of their destiny that our revolution sees itself upon not to waver in its backing and support for these liberation movements.

The intervention of foreign forces in the problem of the Horn would only aggravate the situation and heighten the tension and conflict in the area, thus complicating the prospects for peace. Therefore, we call on foreign forces to be withdrawn from the region and leave for the peoples con-

cerned to settle their problem as they see it suitable to their interests.

Finally, I would like to extend an immense congratulation to the Somali workers wherever they may be, on the august occasion of the 1th anniversary of the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions, wishing them victories in the coming year for the execution of the numerous duties awaiting them. The year which elapsed was for you (GFSTU), the most difficult year, because it was the year that you were going to rely on your self: Office building, mobilisation of the workers, foundation and reorganization of the structure of the General Federation of Somali trade unions. The creation of new sources of income, establishing contacts with various trade unions abroad for the the full

execution of the coming year duties awaiting you.

I would like to advise you to be united as one in fighting against the enemy of the Revolution, socialism and endeavour for the increase of production, safeguarding the goods and the assest of the nation, safeguarding implementation of the policy of SRSP, the laws intended for the development of the nation economy in general and in particular intended for the welfare of the needy masses.

BE VICTORIOUS, BE VICTORIOUS, BE VICTORIOUS.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS.

VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM. FREEMOM AND UNITY FOR THE SOMALI NATION.

DOWN WITH COLONIALISM.



Jaalle Siad's address to the mass-media Staff

The General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre addressed on May 22nd Mass Media Staff. Here are some excerpts from the President's address:

Comrades, the writers and composers are the spokesmen of the nation and they convey to the people the Revolution's policy in economy, education and social affairs. Writers and composers should be mature. politically and mentally and their political consciousness must be high. Only then could they transmit the aspirations of the revolution and the nation towards progress and prosperity to the people.

The writers and composers shoulder a great responsibility in the development of their nation and the raising of the political consciousness of the society so as to catch up with the developed world.

It is part of the goal of the revolution to train every person so as to make him more knowledgeable and capable which in turn increases his efficiency and activities.

Once we know that knowledge and technology enhance the value of sovereignty and the world is changing day after day, it is the policy of the revolution to promote and increase the training of national staff.

Once the benefits of the seminars and symposiums have become appreciated, it is necessary to launch more advanced technical training programs so as to enhance the skills and knowhow of the workers.

«The recent threats directed at the SDR by Mengistu Haile Mariam does not come from Mengistu but he is merely expressing the intentions of the Russians and their allies»

Anyone who attempts to invade the SDR will surely fail and meet great defeat and suffering and that the Somali nation is ready to defend its unity, dignity and sovereignty.

The allied forces want to

force Somalia to renounce its support to the liberation movements, We declare that Somalia will continue its rightful support to the peoples struggling for the determination of their own destiny and independence.

Somalia does not force neither can it stop the peoples fighting for their independence and no other force can stop them till they realize their hu-

man aspirations for independence.

During the revolutionary era the information staff have demonstrated courage, solidarity and readiness in facing up difficulties.

The staff and officials of the information Ministry must strengthen their solidarity and cooperation as well as their dedication and preparedness.

Both the management and

workers are of the same working class and there should not be any antagonism between them since they are both serving the people.

The idea of a divided management and staff is a colonial legacy and as such should be done away with, since it runs counter to national solidarity. We consider anyone who propagates this idea as enemical to the nation.

Jaalle Siad's address on the Youth Day

The General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on the 15th of May attended a play staged at the National Theatre here to mark the Youth 15th May. we reproduce here some excerpts of his address: Comrades,

The long Somali struggle for freedom and independence which was spearheaded by Ahmed Gurey and Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan and the subsequent birth of the first political party, the Somali Youth League in 1943 which was founded by 13 young patriots, spread to all parts of the country to mobilize the people in the struggle which finally culminated in the independence of the country.

The successive corrupt regimes after independence have neglected the aspirations of the people. It was because of that the October Revolution came into being to lead the nation to all-round progress.

Since then, the Revolution has achieved great successes which made it possible the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

As stipulated in its First Charter, the Revolution has pledged itself to the liberation and unity of the Somali people and the independence and progress of the Somali Democratic Republic is incomplete so long as Somalis were being colonized and denied their rights to political and human development.

The Revolution has, fulfilling its First Charter Pledge, supported the liberation struggle of the people of Djibouti and other world liberation movements.

Likewise, the Somali Democratic Republic is obliged to unswervingly support and assist the people of Western Somalia who are still suffering under the oppression of colonialism.

Neither the pressure of foreign forces who blindly plunged themselves into the Horn of Africa conflict nor the empty threats of Abyssinia will prevent us from supporting the Somali Liberation front.

We once again call on the international community to work for the peace and stability of the Horn of African region, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the region and the recognition of the rights of the peoples of this region to self-determination.

The massive arms being poured into Abyssinia are only meant to further heighten tension in the region and add more fuel to the fire, so as to make peace in this region more complicated.

We also call on the no-aligned Community of nations to see the role of Cuba in the International arena in its true light which is contrary to the letter and spirit of Non-alignment.

In particular, we urge the OAU member states to address themselves to the Horn of African problem calling for an African solution.

Cuba in its double role in Africa by pretending to support African liberation movements while crushing other African liberation movements, is serving only the special strategic interests of others.

It must be pointed out that imperialist and colonialist elements have many a time attempted to topple the Revolutions born to transform the lives of

their peoples, to lead them to progress, democracy and peace. These elements always employ internal reactionaries to attain their objectives.

The foiled coup of last month was only one of the many conspiracies hatched by the forces of reaction against the Somali revolution. It was engineered by a small group of military men who had no support in either the armed forces or the public, their heinous objective was to endanger the existence of the Revolution and the unity of the people.

I call on the youth to fight against tribalism which is a tool employed by antirevolutionaries. Tribalism is the most lethal enemy of the society.

I urge you to be vigilant against tribalists who preach tribalism aimed at crippling the Revolution and unity of the people.

I also call on the youth union to promote its activities and its vigilance against antirevolutionary forces. May I wish you success in your activities towards the fulfilment of your national duties and a bright future.

**The Somali Workers will succeed
in their struggle for the progress
and unity of their nation**

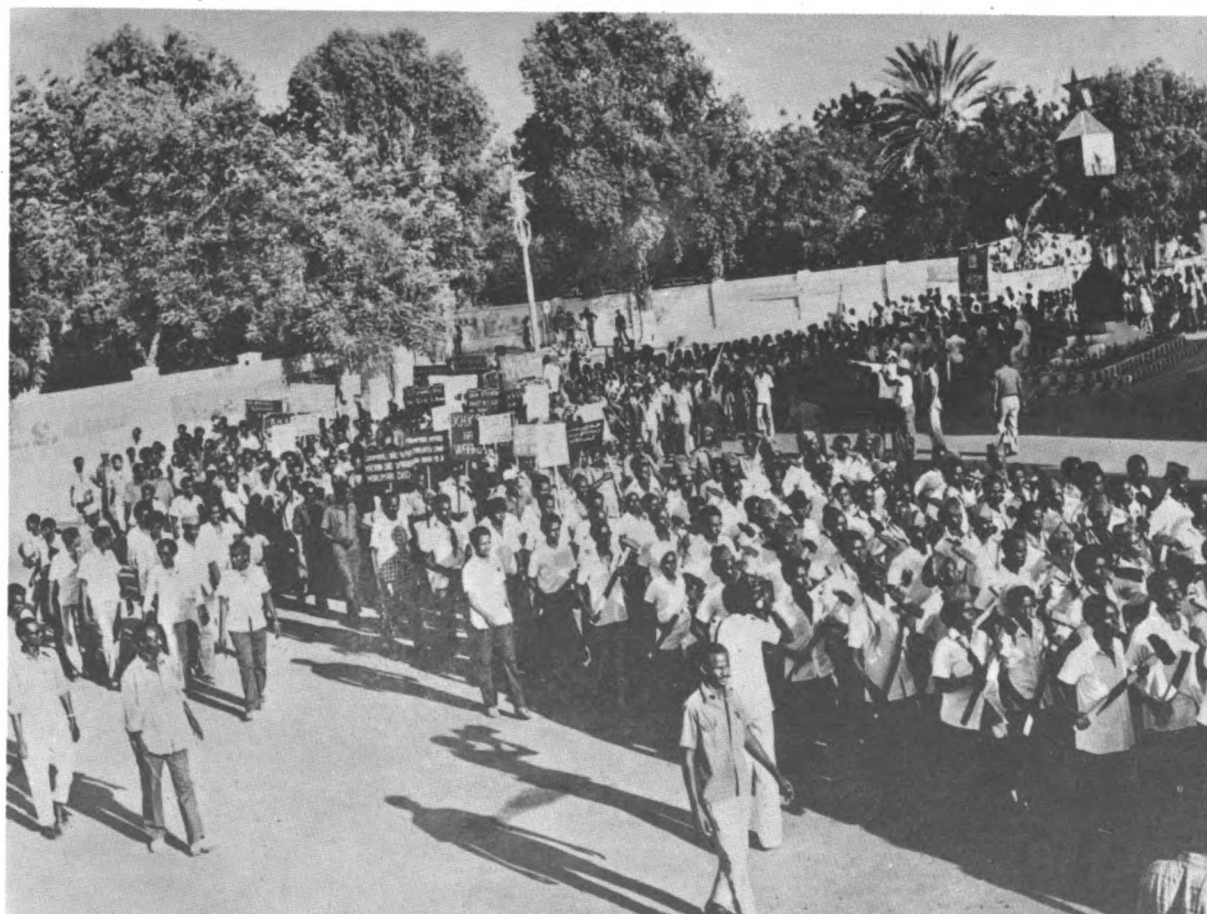
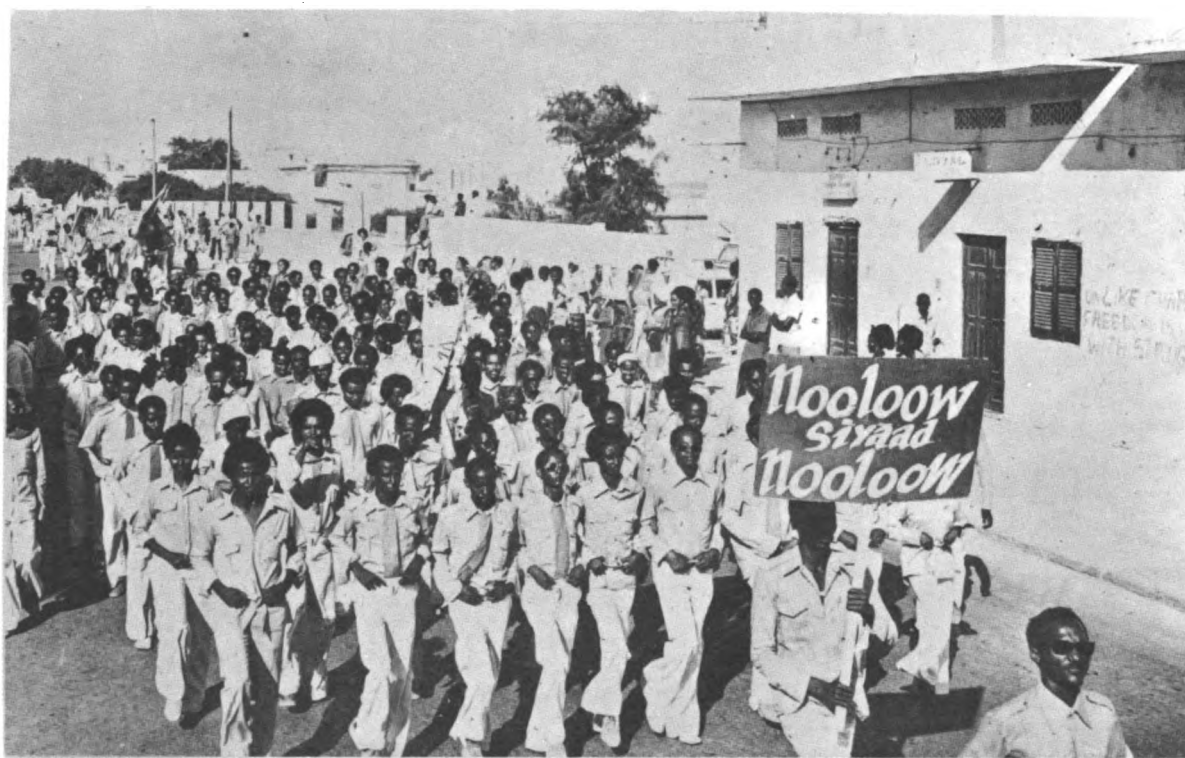
JAALLE SIAD

SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF 1ST MAY.

It is an imperative task of the
workers to protect and safeguard
the gains of the revolution
which are the base for their
future struggle

JAALLE SIAD

SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF 1ST MAY.



1st May and the 15th: Dates of Historical significance for Somalia.



Hamar Weyne is one of the Historical places in Mogadishu.

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
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Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

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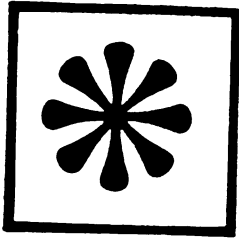
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EDITORIAL NOTES



MOMENTOUS DAYS

In the history of every nation there are certain dates that singularly stand out as milestones in the tempestuous struggle for freedom, true sovereignty, unity, and the attainment of all the sacred goals for which the vast majority of the nation aspire to. 26th June and July 1st 1960 are dates that will be indelibly marked in the minds of countless generations of our people to come, who will fondly remember them, and enthusiastically welcome their celebrations.

On 26 June 1960, Northern Somalia, a former British protectorate became the first, amongst the five dismembered Somali territories, to see the dawn of independence. On July 1st 1960, Southern Somalia, an Italian Trusteeship since 1950 followed suit to become the 2nd Somali territory to liberate itself from the yoke of colonialism. The twins on that same day decided to join and form the Somali Republic, thereby constituting the nucleus of the noble goal of Somali unity to be further fought for.

In nutshell those two dates symbolise the materialisation of the undaunted and heroic struggles waged by our people under the lofty banners of Ahmed Gurey, Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, and the SYL. The tree of independence was watered by the blood of countless and valiant heroes, who sacrificed the most worthy thing-life - towards their people's future happiness.

To crown our long independent struggle which the two dates stand for on 1st July 1976 the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, a Vanguard party of the new type was established in order to deepen and enrich the revolutionary socio-economic transformations taking place within a socialist framework.

The SRSP is the inheritor and continuator of all the splendid struggles embarked upon by the Somali people for freedom, a better humane life, unification and a consistent struggle against imperialism, colonialism, zionism and Apartheid.

In the span of two years the SRSP has done a tremendous job, that is by creating the Social organisations, such as the Federation of STU (1st May 1977); Somali Women's Democratic Organization (8th March 1977); Somali Revolutionary Youth Organisation (15th May 1977); The Organisation of Somali Co-operatives Movement (6th January 1978), and last but not least the Revolutionary October Young Flowers Organisations (18th June). These social organisations are built on the basis of meeting the vital necessity of mobilising the Somali Working Class, and all the other progressive stratas in our society. The

motto, the working class organised is everything, the working class dispersed is an ineffective force, has to be strictly adhered to if one has to facilitate passing power over to the working people. Besides the party created its branches in all the regions and districts, and at the sometime inaugurated the establishment of its basic units and cells. Today the Party and the social organisations are all in existence in the breath and length of the country, and are all discharging the gigantic tasks in accordance with their respective programmes.

All along, the party's main objective was to implement the main terms of its programme and constitution. An integral aspect of this is for the Party to frame up an over all plan for socio-economic advancement of the Somali society. To attain this, and to maximise the utilisation of both the natural and human resources, and over and above this to close the gaps resulting from former development plans, the Party and the Gov't machinery have spelt out a new development interim economic plan for 1979 - 1981. Correspondingly the former decided policy of attaining self-sufficiency in foodstuffs has been a new and vigorous momentum. The Ministry of agriculture, and other allied Ministries and agencies whose tasks directly impinge on the economic field have been encouraged to lay down the necessary conditions for the programme of self-sufficiency to be a realisable objective by the year 1980. There is no doubt that a critical evaluation of the plans so far laid down and a serious commitment to eliminate the drawbacks intrinsic in them will in the end make possible a more efficient management of our economy and the raising of our productive capacity. A less topheavy administrative system, one which is flexible, free of bureaucratic red tape and attuned to the spirit of the nation's welfare constitutes a fundamental and necessary organ through which our long term strategy could be accomplished. It is and ought to be a primary duty of the SRSP to create the vital administrative and managerial system to make its political decisions to be speedily carried out.

26th June and July 1st are the spirit beating in the hearts of the Somali people wherever they are. The present conflict in the horn and the foreign intervention on the side of Abyssinian colonialism is today subverting the age old cherished goals of the Somali people. The Somali people in the Somali West and Abo people are still fighting, to enjoy their right to self-determination, which is an inalienable right of all oppressed people. The old Abyssinian colonialism, a mis-spent political force, outliving its usefulness is trying to breathe into itself a new lease of life, by colluding with the Russo-Cuban strategic inte-

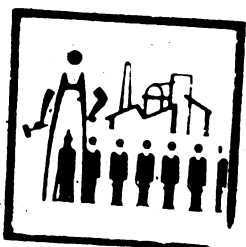
rests in the Horn of Africa. This unholy collusion is charged with the supreme task of denying the people of the Somali West, Abo and Eritrea their full right to independent existence? In addition it is meant to achieve the present Russian super-power ambitions of world hegemony and expansion.

The Somali Democratic Republic in line with the principles enshrined in its own Charters, and the genuine applications of the UNO, OAU, and Arab League edicts on peoples right to self-determination supports the people of the Somali West, Abo and Eritrea in their efforts to break away, and actively decide their own future. A lasting solution to the conflict in the Horn boils down to the undiluted acceptance of the principle of self-determination to the peoples languishing under Abyssinian colonialism.

With regard to our people the spirit of 26th June, and 1st July will continue to inspire us in our renewed efforts to create the basis for an all-roundedly better life for our people. Despite the multiple and weighly problems, set against us by internal and external reaction, and inspite of the regressive nature of the many unavoidable tests of life, the courageous Somali people will remain cool and sober, and will wage an unremitting struggle against all their enemies—old and new. and will finally, no doubt be the victors.

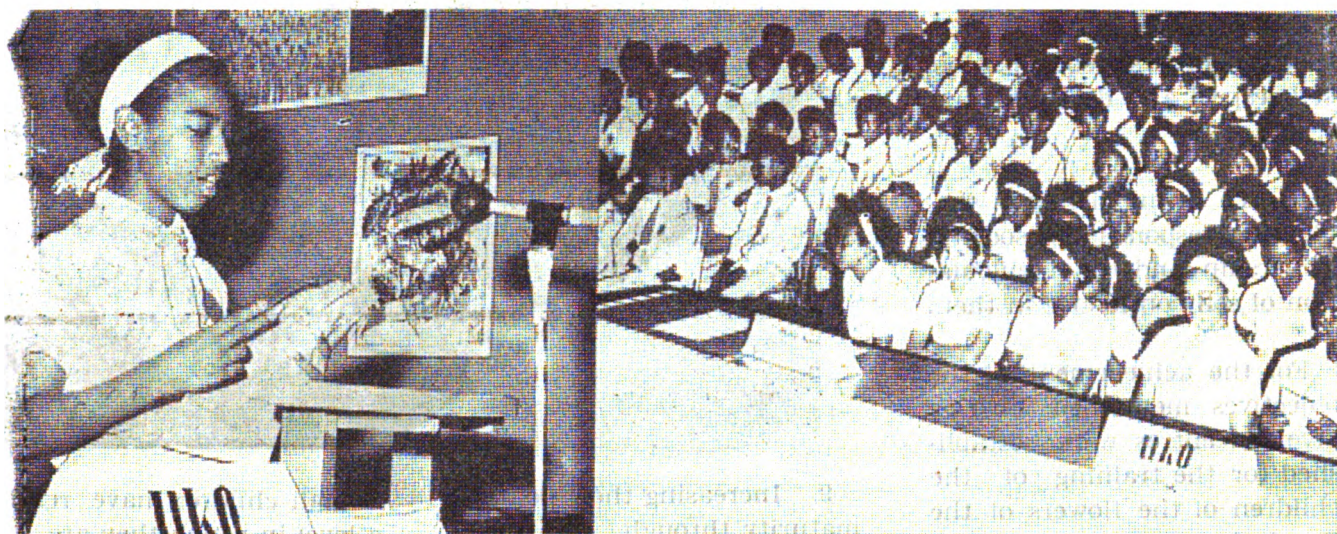
In the fight for the future, let us always look back to our glorious past, a past without which present day sovereign Somalia would not have been born.

Political, Economic and Social Affairs



FLOWERS OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Mahamed Dahir Afrah



Whoever has been to the Headquarters of the flowers of the October Revolution «FOR», in Mogadishu, between the period of 15-17 June has undoubtedly left the centre with amazing bewilderment about the proceeding without their comprehension. In this above mentioned headquarter a trail gathering was in progress between different members of the aforesaid children organization.

In fact, this gathering was the first of its type to be ever held in Somalia. The nature of the gathering delegates who participated in its deliberations and prevailing atmosphere were all an admirable affairs of extraordinary character. However, we will refer to the point later, but to start with let us explain the objectives of the gathering, the delegation who attended its proceedings and the issues raised in it.

Historical Background:

18 June of this year, was the 7th Anniversary of the flower of October Revolution. Since then, 18th June has been observed throughout the SDR.

18th June 1971, was the first day in which the Somali children day was recognised. These children were given the name Flowers. This name was given to them by Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR, Jaalle Siad. At the opening ceremony of the first camp for the training of the young generation of Somali youth. This was El-Jaalle Camp, which was meant for the utilisation of the Somali students during their school vacation.

The President on the inauguration of that camp called the children the flowers of the land. This was the initial starting point for the organization of the Sons and Daughters

of the Mother land of elementary school level. They were called «The flowers of the October Revolution». The mobilisation and the education of the flowers of the October Revolution was tackled with the diligent responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Likewise, a lion share in this endeavour was undertaken by the political office of the presidency of SRC.

Among the major objectives for which the flowers of the revolution were established are:

- a) To start at the opportune time, of the children for the building of a society based on sound and healthy personality.
- b) To imbed in the minds of the children the love of their land, its sovereignty culture and development.
- c) To raise them in a re-

volutionary spirit as well as culture and socialist personality.

d) In order to make an early detection for their hobbies and talents for the recognition of what is convenient for each cell for their encouragement and for their accountability.

e) In order to teach them good manners, socialization, self-respect and decent competition.

f) To train them for shouldering responsibility, social leadership and the inculcation of self-confidence in them

For the achievement of the objectives mentioned above diverse centres were established for the training of the children of the flowers of the Revolution. The largest one being that of Kamaludin located in Mogadishu. This centre is also their Headquarter. In these centres children are taught several different activities based on their different hobbies. Among the activities performed are:

1. Different sporting activities.
2. Painting, arts and crafts etc.
3. Composition of plays and their performance.
4. Playing with musical instruments.
5. Learning folkore dances.
6. Acquiring skills of argumentations and debates.
7. Writing of newspaper articles, stories etc.
8. Learning technical crafts.



9. Increasing their political maturity through the medium of a language they understand.

A tangible achievements have been made in the realisation of the objective for which the flowers of the Revolution were established, and the implementation.

Of their Planned (Programme.) It was after the birth of SRSP and the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union «SRYU» that the flowers of the October Revolution have made a tremendous progress in being a well established organization coming hierarchically under the SRYU. Precisely it comes under the supervision of one of its department for which a special secretary for the children organization was named.

After their long continuous education and mobilisation as was mentioned earlier, «FOR» has reached a new stage of quality which means that the

Somali children have reached a level in which they are mature for any work expected from an established political organisation. The children of «FOR» in order to test this matter and to demonstrate to other have organized a seminar of high quality and experimental nature to show how they are ready to embark on bigger gatherings that would be organized by themselves alone.

This experimental gathering was held at the Headquarter of «FOR», in the period between 15 — 17 June. The gathering was attended by delegates from the 14th districts of the Benadir Region, Head Quarter of «FOR», students of elementary, intermediate schools, centres of the Revolutionary youth, and that of the orphans of the armed forces. The total number of the delegates was (343) Children. The Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Siad, was guest of honour of the gathering where

he delivered a historical speech. Other high ranking officials were also guests of honour such as, Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Major General Husien Kulmie Afrah, Members of the CC of the SRSP.

This Congress had the character of a Seminar. The matters discussed were divided into reports, and reciprocal debates of the various children organisations who attended the gathering. The deliberations of the said gathering were divided into three points:

1. The value of sovereignty.
2. Mobilisation and the rearing of children.
3. And the care of the young generation.

Grown up Children: The guests who participated in the gathering have been well impressed and became proud of the growing young generation. Jaalle M a h a m e d Ali, who was one of the guests attending the gathering has delivered a short speech at closing of its deliberations.

It was a new phenomena in the history of our nation moving one's sentiments when he sees a big conference that has been going for several days

which have been attended by hundreds of people among them the highest ranking leaders of the country. the conference was organized and finished to its conclusion by children the eldest ones are 15 years old. It was surprising how small children became mature for organizing arguments and debates, thinking that they are big politicians sitting in parliament. Likewise, it was astonishing that the responsibility and the prudence manifested by each child starting from the three children who were directing the conference chairmanship and the five of age (10) who were at the helm of the secretariat, up to the the delegates who were sitting in the hall without the least noise. However, the only noise heard was slogans, and group songs in which pauses were made in supporting of each speaker whenever he/she refer to historical occasion.

The children of flowers of October Revolution, unlike their tender age, have participated on several occasions in many important conference held within the SDR and abroad.

Starting from the conference of the heads of states of East and Central Africa, that was held in Mogadishu in 1971 up to this day there is no con-

ference that was held in which «FOR» did not participate especially in terms of its entertainment and admonishment. Further more, t h e y have participated in several conferences attended by the children of the world. Thus, it is not surprising for them to organize conference and to participate in its debates. It would be an exaggeration and distortion if we make the pretension that Flowers of October Revolution has achieved its planned target, in terms of its establishment and the well rearing of its components. However, commentable results have been made, but with little achievements about the planned goals for which the organization was founded.

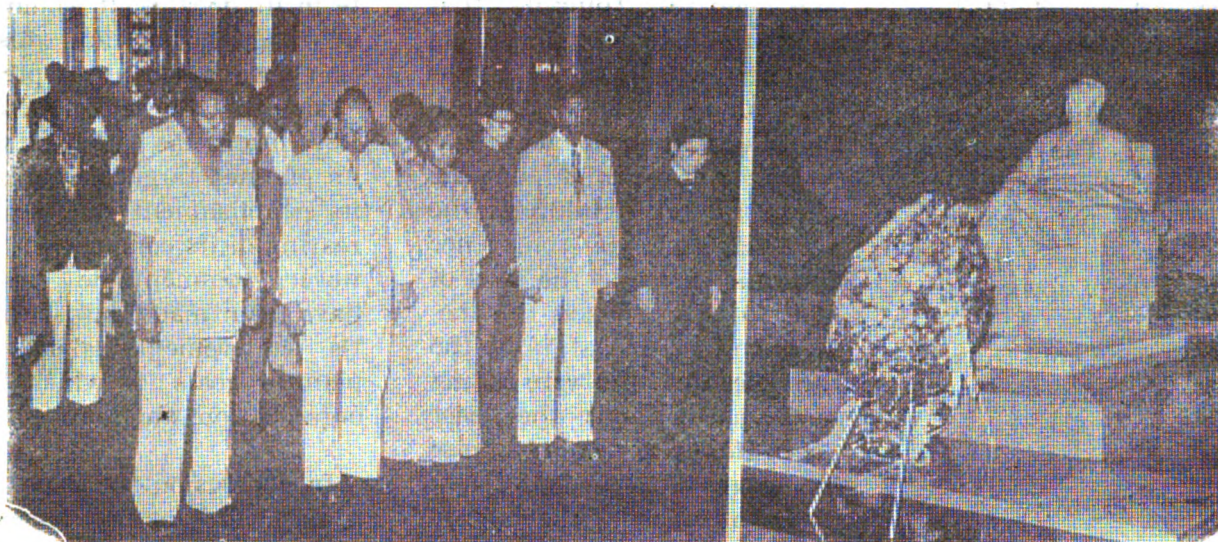
In conclusion the experiment of 15-17 June has become a successful one as well as being cognizant that «FOR» has reached a stage of self-management, similar to an established social organization. This conference of the children is a practical lesson in the sense that they have gained an immediate experience as it was planned.

We congratulate the Flowers of the October Revolution on the 7th Anniversary of its foundation wishing them immediate success and a promising future.

PARTY LIFE



Party delegation visits China



A Party delegation led by the Chairman of the Bureau for Social Affairs Jaale Ahmed Maxamed Farah returned home on June 16th after a thirty six day friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Peoples Republic of China.

On arrival at Peking, the delegation was accorded a warm reception by members of the Chinese Communist Party.

During their visit, the delegation toured seven Chinese Provinces visiting Industries, Cooperatives, Hydroelectric power stations, Universities, Party Schools, Museums and Historic places like the Great Wall of China which is among the Seven Wonders of the World. Chinese Party Official as well as the public gave a warm welcome to the Somali delegation briefing

them about the struggle of the Chinese people towards the development of their country. Furthermore, ideas were exchanged often by the Somali delegation and members of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Chinese Communist Party have a deep-rooted friendship based on historic ties of over a millennium which existed between the Somali and Chinese people.



Seminar Closed for Rural Community Leader

The second year elapsed since the foundation of the SRSP during which new experience and insights were gained. Such experiences facilitated for the re-organization and initiation of better approach of the tasks as to realise the most rewarding means and methods.

The responsibility of running the party obligations falls directly on the shoulders of the Party functionaries as well as those of the other social organisations to intensify the relation of the Party and the masses. This made inevitable for the

training of these functionaries in all tasks required for the running of the Party.

The functionaries of the Party and other social organisations had already acquired necessary political knowledge. Hence some of them are now chosen to learn vocational training in fields such as office procedure, statistics and type-writing.

Accordingly on 9th of June, 60 functionaries of the Party and other social organisations were admitted in SIDAM to acquire the afore-

mentioned knowledge. On the opening occasion of this month course, the Chairman of the Bureau for Central Committee Affairs, Jaalle Ibrahim Maygag Samatar delivered a speech. In his speech, Jaalle Maygag reflected the accomplished tasks of the SRSP during the two years following its foundation. He also pointed out the required obligation of the functionaries of the SRSP and other social organisations and how this vocational training will help them to carry out their responsibility successfully.

Women's Committees Undergo Training

Between the 5th and 19th June 1978, the Regional and District Committees of the Somali Democratic Women Organisation particularly those responsible for the education, child and mother care, administration and economy, had undergone a short training course at the domestic education centre in Mogadisho.

The main purpose of the training course was to offer an opportunity to the leading Committees of the women organisation to exchange their experiences with the aim of tackling the problems that confront their daily tasks and duties.

Moreover, there have been other lessons delivered to the participants on the current affairs in the area and the role they are

supposed to play.

Of special significance was the opening address delivered to the participant members by Brig. General Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, the Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP and the Vice-President of the Somali Democratic Republic. In his address, Jaalle Ismail reminded the delegates of the magnificent role played by the Somali women in the National Liberation struggle, their unforgettable part in the edification of the revolution and also their present engagement in the national reconstruction. He has pointed out that these remarkable contributions by the Somali women were what has led the revolutionary government to pass such decrees as the family laws that underline the emancipation

of the Somali women and their ascendance to an equal status with their male partners.

In addition to the executive members of the Somali Democratic Women's Organisation, there were other institutions that took part in this training seminar including the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, and members of the—Benadir Regional Party Branch. Needless to mention that the SDWO is one of the organisations fully dedicated to the social progress of the Somali people and hence with the other political and mass organisations and state organs in the country.

The training course was concluded on the 19th June 1978. Present at the closing ceremony were dignitaries

ries from the Central committee of the SRSP Party, including the President of the SDWO, Jaalle Fatuma Omar Hashi, the Minister of Education, Jaalle Adan Mohamed Ali, Minister of

Higher Education, Jaalle Ahmed Ashkir Botan, the Mayor of Mogadishu Jaalle Yusuf Ibrahim Ali, Benadir Reginal Party Secretary, Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, and the commander of the

peoples militia, Jaalle Abdirahman Abdi Hussein.

The closing address was made by Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, the Benadir Reginal Party Branch Secretary.

7th Anniversary of the Flowers of the October Revolution

On 18th January, 1978 at the centre of Mogadishu, the capital city of Somali Democratic Republic large number of children who are members of the Organisation of the Somali children named flowers of October Revolution met for 7 consecutive days, each on that particular date, children dressed in blue and white uniform as members of the flowers of the October Revolution ceremoniously participate in the rally.

The Children participated in the rally in the commemoration of that day, 18th June, which has special significance to them, and is marked as the founding date of the Flowers of the Revolutionary October. 18th June 1971 Secretary General of the S.R.S.P. President of the SDR Jaalle Siad coined the name «Flowers» of October for the Somali Children, to symbolise the vitality of the future generations. The next step was to establish the organisation of children named Flowers of the October Revolution, while following the directions of Jaalle Siad.

In the rally on 18th June large numbers of children (F.R.O.) met at the centre of Mogadishu. They marched along the main avenues of the city, and laid flowers at the monuments of Sayd Mohamed Abdulle Hasan, Dhagahtur, Hawa Ta-



ko and at the Unknown Soldier's monument in commemoration of the struggle of the Somali people for independence and the valiant nationalist struggle for which they shed their sacred blood.

It is an important national issue when children who growing up visit and present flowers at their grandfathers monuments who sacrificed their lives to defend their nation. It is a symbol which the Somali children can be proud about and a heritage they have to further deepen in their memories.

A ceremony which took place at the national theatre during the night of 18th June, was another programme prepared by the Flowers of October Revolution anniversary. On that occasion.

Special emphasis was given to the Trade Union Education since the Somali Working Class and its General Federation of trade

unions earnestly believe that Scientific Socialism is the only path that can ensure better living standard and the satisfaction of the need of the Working masses. Hence the importance attached to the study of the Socialist Ideology. This has to be carried out along side the vocational training of the Workers

This short Seminar proved to be useful and fruitful. Attending the session were Party and Government officials Social Organisations and representatives of progressive people. The programme took a long time to display but all the same to display but all the same it was appreciable and splendid. Most specifically appreciated was the high level of activity and heightened consciousness shown by those small children which reflect that the future of our great country is safe in their hands.

The 3rd meeting of the GFSTU

At the Somali workers centre in Mogadishu, was held the 3rd meeting of the Central Committee of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union between 10 - 12th June 1978. Such meetings are held twice annually.

The meeting's Agenda items were as follows:

1. Reports by the delegates on the activities of the regional and district branches since the 2nd Central Committee meeting.

2. Internal regulations for the day-to-day functions and duties of the Federation, which had been approved by the meeting.

3. The establishment of more trade union branches throughout the regions and the districts to embrace the whole country. It has been found from experience that this is a necessary measure for the improvement of the Federations work and the fulfillment of its tasks on a national level. The meeting has approved the establishment of a union for the local government employees and the hotel union workers.

4. The creation of two separate departments: one for the administration and the other for the ideology, after it was found out that the handling of these tasks by one single department was very burdensome.

The items in the Agenda were dealt with by the participants in accordance with the principles of Dem.



ocratic centralism and criticism and self-criticism.

Every member has democratically spoken his mind on these issues and clearly expressed his opinion as principles of scientific socialism entail.

The discussions in the meeting were carried out in a lively and comardely spirit. Reports and discussions were interspersed by revolutionary songs and slogans that reflected the indomitable ill and spirit of the Somali working people and their honest dedication to realise the aspira-

tions of the nation and build a socialist society.

At the close of the meeting, the participants passed the following resolutions that can be classified into two categories:-

- 1) The first set of resolutions pertain to the present historical stage of the nation and the duties incumbent on the Somali working class.

- 2) The second group deals with the improvement of both labour and the conditions of the toiling Somali masses.

These resolutions can be easily read elsewhere in this magazine under the heading «Books and Publications».

After the Conclusion of its works of the 3rd meeting, a 4- days Seminar was arranged for the Chairmen of the regional an district Trade Union branches, held at the Workers Cultural Centre.

The main themes of the Seminar focussed upon the activities of the General Federation of the Somali Trade Union in the past year.



Vocational Training for SRSP and other Social Union's Functionaries

The Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP and Vice-President of the SDR, Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor closed a seminar for 447 rural community leaders at El-Jaalle of Marka district on 18th June 1978. These leaders of the rural communities were mainly the elders or religious figures from all the regions, districts and villages of the Somali Democratic Republic.

During this course of the 50 days Seminar, the community leaders acquired knowledge related to the rural development especially administration, sanitary conditions, health promotion for rural people and their livestock and the development of the agricultural production.

One of these situational lectures was presented by the Secretary General of the SRSP, Jaalle Siad, on 9th June 1978. In his lecture the President high-lighted on the need for co-operation and unity as the prerequisite for the overall progress

of the society. Jaalle Siad also urged the community leaders to safeguard the fruits of the Revolution and protect them against all reactionary elements. In conclusion the President advised them to practically apply the knowledge they acquire in their role of leading the community so that the national aspirations might be realised.

In general during this seminar the required objectives were achieved according to its plan and on the closing day, Vice-President Jaalle Brig.-General Ismail Ali Abokor spoke on the occasion.

In his speech, Jaalle Ismail dealt at length on the country's present situation and the role of the community leaders in advancing the nation while helping the society to overcome the difficult conditions prevalent at the moment.

After completing their studies in the seminar, the

community leaders returned back to their rural areas to resume their obligation in more enlightened method. This will add more to the realisation of the 21st October Revolution's aims in developing the Somali society whose majority reside in the rural areas.

This is why the Revolution considers the advancement of the rural people as a top priority and accordingly staged the rural development campaign which was made permanent at the latter phases and the expansion of the government administration to the rural areas.

Similarly this concluded seminar for the community leaders was mainly to open a dialogue between the rural elders and the government leaders for strengthening the relation between the Revolution and the rural people. Also some of its other aims were to teach the community leaders the required administrative techniques and the methods of mobilising the masses.

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WORLD AFFAIRS



A CALL FOR ARAB SOLIDARITY

— By Ali Mohamed Ahmed

In a meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers held in March this year a decision was conclusively taken to set up a Commission charged with the task of re-establishing Arab Cooperation which hit rock bottom after President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

Sadat's official visit to Jerusalem in Nov. 1977 was undertaken to show to the World public opinion the unstinted Arab efforts and their good intentions in the search for a Lasting peace in the Middle East. Besides, Sadat, through this visit of his intended to destroy the psychological barriers separating the Israelis & Arabs as a result of the successive Middle Eastern wars.

As for the rejectionist Arab front their arguments turned on the assumption that Israeli expansionism and stubbornness towards the Middle East conflict will not be transformed by a good will visit by an Arab Statesman. In fact this visit can, and did lead to unnecessary divisions and rancour between the Arab States directly confronting Israel, since it gave Israel the option of entering into unilateral agreements with each Arab State. In the end the Palestinian peoples's right to their own independent State could be jeopardised.

The creation of Israel and the continuous support extended to it by Imperialist powers

is not accidental. The rationale of Israeli existence is founded on the long term imperialist strategy to subvert Arab progressive and national liberation revolutions in the area.

To the extent that Israel is nourished by external strong forces, and is objectively meant to act as a sharp knife pointing at the heart of the Arab World, most probably it will toset peaceful Arab efforts with disdain and contempt.

Proceeding further in our analysis, the Middle East conflict to be seriously defused necessitates a just solution to be found for the Palestinian issue since the usurpation of Palestinian rights and their eviction from their land is at the root of the whole conflict. Failing to find an equitable solution will make a lasting peace a non-materialisable goal. Accordingly it only stands to reason to extend an invitation to the sole and legal Palestinian representative to fully take part in the official talks between the parties to the Middle Eastern Conflict: The Israel and Arabs.

In the furtherance of the Arab cause it is imperative that a strong United alliance ought to be forged in order to strengthen the Arab hand in the eventuality of any negotiations with Israel. International imperialism and Israel are fully cognisant with the effectiveness and the great

weight which a united Arab front will pose if successively consolidated. Thereby they have left no stone unturned to frustrate such unity emerging. In line with this the imperialist plan with regard to the Middle East hinges upon partial solutions to be accomplished unilaterally with each Arab confrontation State.

Preceding accumulated Arab experiences all go to vividly prove the inexhaustible benefits stemming from unity, which perforce ensures victory, whereas disarray and disunity on their part inevitably leads to defeat and despondence. We still remember the magnificent contributions of the Arab people to Egypt's valiant struggle against the tripartite aggression in 1956.

It is noteworthy to cast back our memory to the Khartoum Conference in 1967, and the strong Cooperation it fostered amongst Arab ranks who then were striving to consolidate the progressive bloc in the Arab world, which imperialism consciously wanted to supplant and overthrow. Doubtlessly this strong Arab progressive bloc splendidly contributed to the great victory against Israel scored in October 1973. Another example attesting to the fruits of unity is represented by the liberation of Algeria, which to a large extent was due to the close collaboration between Arab countries siding with the Algerian people's just

demand for total national liberation.

Drawing on all those positive experiences it is becoming incontrovertibly apparent to the Arab peoples that solely through unity could the liberation of Palestine and other Arab territories occupied after 1967 be accomplished. Over and above this Arabs will equally meet the demands of economic development, and the uplift of social life. The full realisation of this glaring truth impressed itself in the recent Cairo Conference where the aforementioned Commission was set up. In the same Conference President Jafar Nu-

meri was elected a Chairman of this Commission, which consists of nine Arab Countries. The main objective of this is to reinstate the fraternal Arab relations, to consolidate their ability to head off the enemy which is trying to dismember and weaken them. In short the Commission is trying to revive the highly beneficial Arab teamwork obtaining in 1973 and before.

There is no doubt that through unity and brotherly cooperation the Arab countries will be able to overcome the onerous tasks confronting them in the liberation of Palestine, other occupied lands

and the carrying out of the other much cherished goals which remain unattended to. The great values inherent in this unity makes it incumbent upon us to applaud every step taken towards the rejuvenation of Arab unity and cooperation. The fact that no one Arab country could successfully combat the strong world imperialist system feeding Israel aggression obviously hastens the timely call for unbreakable Arab coalition built on the sound foundations of co-ordinating the process of the bright historical future awaiting the Arab people.



ON NON - ALIGNMENT

The forthcoming meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade (July, 1978), gives us the occasion to reflect briefly on certain theoretical and historical aspects of the Non-aligned Movement.

Twenty three years ago, a conference of 29 sovereign states of Asia and Africa -- for the first time in history -- was held in Bandung from April 18 to 24, 1955. The Conference was convened following the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism when new independent countries appeared in Asia and Africa, and the national liberation movement acquired thus a new decisive motive force.

The Bandung conference sowed the seeds for the movement that emerged during the fifties around the concept of non - alignment. An overvi-

ew of non-aligned activities during the past two decades shows that the movement implies:-

a) The need to defend and consolidate political independence;

b) The need to support national liberation struggle thus liberating all remaining areas under colonialism and alien domination.

c) The need to struggle for a new international economic order in order to insure not only political but economic independence as well.

d) The need to struggle for international peace and security, development and peaceful co-existence irrespective of different social systems.

The policy of non-alignment appeared as an international

Hussein M. Adan

political factor during the cold war. It is basically the expression of resistance on the part of many countries to the division of the world into blocs, an opposition to bloc hegemony and also to the danger of a new war into which the world was being impelled by bloc divisions. Consequently, one of the main criteria to attend the first Summit of Non-aligned Countries (Belgrade, 1961) was defined as follows:

«The country should not be a member of a multi-lateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great power conflicts».

Two other important criteria included:-

1) The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of states with different political and social systems and

on non-alignment or should be following a trend in favour of such a policy.

2) The country concerned should be consistently supporting the movements for national independence.

Non-alignment adopts the theoretical principle — borne out daily by practice — that separating the world into military blocs does not lead to peace and the affirmation of peaceful co-existence among peoples but to the aggravation of international relations and war. Regardless of the political intentions and objectives of such blocs, they inevitably lead to the restricting and in some cases to abolishing the independence of peoples. The current turmoil in Africa — the Horn of Africa in particular offers a glaring example to this thesis, namely super-power rivalries exarcebate and aggravate tensions and local the independence of African conflicts to the detriment of peoples. In this instance, it is one superpower, that is heavily implicated in creating turmoil.

The principle that lasting peace and progress are possible only on the grounds of transcending the bloc divisions of the world and developing cooperation and rapprochement among nations has inspired a series of non-aligned gatherings such as:

- a) The first Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries (Belgrade, 1961).
- b) The 2nd Summit Conference of the non-aligned countries (Cairo, 1964).
- c) The 3rd Summit Conference

of the Non-aligned countries (Lusaka, 1970).

d The fourth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries (Algiers 1973).

f) The fifth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries (Colombo, 1976).

An essential principle in non-aligned policy is the need to consolidate peace, for peace is a basic need of the contemporary world and its progressive development. But this should never be taken to imply that non-aligned policy accepts peace at any price. On the contrary it is resolutely opposed to the kind of «peace» that imperialistic, hegemonistic and aggressive reactionary forces want to impose on freedom loving peoples. Non-aligned policy urges active support for every just liberation struggle which must be waged with arms in consequence of existing conditions. The Second Summit in Cairo made the following important pronouncement. «Lasting world peace cannot be realised so long as unjust conditions prevail and peoples under foreign domination continue to be deprived of their fundamental right to freedom, independence and self-determination».

The Cairo summit noted that the right of self-determination is still violated and its exercise denied in many regions of the world and results in a continued increase of tension and extension of the areas of war.

The Cairo conference, and others before and after, denounced the attitude of those powers and forces which oppose the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination. It adopted strongly worded resolutions in favour

of the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and against the use of force against the exercise of this right.

Recent events in Africa in general and the horn of Africa in particular, bear testimony to this wisdom of non-aligned policy.

Non-aligned countries are occupied not only with issues of decolonisation, but also with the crucial issues of development. The overwhelming majority of non-aligned countries are also economically underdeveloped countries. Accordingly, they are faced with the need to step up efforts for establishing such forms of international economic cooperation and assistance as to make for more equitable relations and the acceleration of the economic advancement of underdeveloped countries.

As the main battle for national liberation shifted from political to economic sphere — or in other words, when the Third world nations began their second battle for (economic) independence, this gave another big push of unity and solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even those, who for various reasons could not get rid of imperialist domination in new forms, realized that the entire third world must stand together for the elimination of incredible poverty and hunger of its peoples. Thus the «Group of 77» was formed during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) for the first time in Geneva in the year 1964. The «Group of 77» which by now embraces over 110 countries, has

been quite active in the formulation of demands on behalf of all the developing countries through UNCTAD 11, (Delhi, 1968), UNCTAD 111 (Santiago de Chile, 1972), UNCTAD IV (Nairobi, 1976) as well as in the VI and VII Special UN Sessions on Development. It was after the Algiers Summit of Non-Aligned countries (1973) with its Economic Declaration and Programme of Action that a whole series of international dialogues generated. Consequently, the VI Special UN Session on Development was held in 1974 and the VII Session in 1975.

The UN General Assembly there upon, adopted a Declaration on a new International Economic order and a Programme of Action. Furthermore, a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States was also adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. Another international dialogue prompted by such efforts is popularly referred to as the North-South Dialogue resulting from the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation in December 1975 with the participation of Western industrialised nations and developing countries.

Following recent non-aligned countries conferences, certain institutional arrangements have begun to emerge such as.

a) Formations of associations of producers of raw materials (like OPEC) which could confront imperialism and neo-colonialism successfully and the establishment of the Council of Associations of Developing countries Producers Exporters of Raw Materials;

b) Establishment of the solidarity fund for economic and social development in the non-aligned countries.

c) Establishment of the special fund for the financing of raw materials and primary products exported by the developing countries

d) Guidelines for the treatment of foreign private investment, transnational corporations and the transfer of technology.

These are significant steps on the long road ahead to bridge the gap between the developing and the developed world. The non-aligned movement is creatively developing and coping with newer and ever changing situations. Steps have been taken, for example towards pooling together news Agencies of the non-aligned countries to thwart the biased news barrage against the aspirations of developing countries emanating from imperial news media. Certain countries have also begun to initiate steps aimed at insuring the involvement and mobilisation of popular mass organisations in the movement for non-alignment.

The non-aligned movement is therefore not just a temporary by-product of the cold war between certain military-political blocs. The non-aligned movement is destined to play a positive role in injecting a healthy dose of democratic relations of equality among socialist countries themselves. The consequences of colonialism's disintegration are in growing degree obstructing narrowing down and curtailing possibilities for manifestation of the most basic tendencies of imperialism, and thereby causing crises that accelerate the internal disintegration of imperialism while strengthening the forces of socialism. Under such circum-

stances, the non-aligned movement can no longer be defined exclusively in terms of the contradiction between socialists. Under such circumstance the non-aligned movement can no longer be defined exclusively in terms of the contradiction between the socialist block.

Contradictions are already arising on the grounds of socialist development in the transitional period. One of these involves the necessity for social ownership of the means of production to take the form, for a time, of state ownership which generates tendencies to preserve wage-labour relations between the state and the employed. There is also the necessity for socialist forces to rely for some time on the strength of the state generating bureaucracy and statist deformation of socialist economic relations. Relations among socialist countries have to rest on inter-state basis thereby permitting tendencies toward hegemony, and so forth. In its initial stages, it has been necessary for socialism in the world to develop on the grounds of great differences in level of economic development permitting aspirations to the preservations of economic differences and struggles aimed at settling such economic disparities among socialist states. There is also the ideological reflection of such contradictions, manifested in the dogmatizing of Marxism and the creation of an ideological monopoly in the interests of preserving the need to control the world revolutionary process for the benefit of certain vested interests.

The Socialist option implies a historical necessity. More and more countries and par-

(Continued on Page 22)

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Siad Tours Western Europe and Gulf States



The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre and the delegation led by him returned home on 28th of June after the wounding up of 11 day visit to Western Europe and some Arab States. The President and his delegation left Mogadishu on 18th June on a visit to OMAN, QADAR, SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, UAE, EGYPT, BRITAIN, and the FEDERAL REBUPLIC OF GERMANY.

Speaking to Newsmen at the Presidency headquarters upon arrival back home Jaalle Siad stated that the discussions he and his delegation had with respective leaders of those countries were crowned with success and mutual understanding.

The President disclosed that major topics discussed in their respective meetings included means of finding

solutions to current global problems and how to tackle them. In addition the relation and co-operation between Somalia and these countries, the Afro-Arab cooperation and other international issues, particularly the conflict in the Horn of Africa.

In answering a question on the views held by the leaders of countries he visited regarding the naked and pravocative aggression

of Abyssinia against the SDR, Jaalle Siad disclosed that the repeated aggressions as not being perpetrated by the Abyssinians is instigated by certain big powers with particular interest in the area.

The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, declared that the objective behind the allied troops aggressive attacks is aimed at dis-tearting the Somali Nation. However, the fact remains that the Somali people will never be dishearted by the enemy designs to incur horn upon them. Infact these acts of aggression favourably adds to their bravery and unity in defending their sovereignty and dignity, he said. Speaking on the support, the SDR extends to the liberation movements Jaalle Siad stated that this is a legitimate and obligatory support of the Somali Nation that will never be abandoned.



PRESS CONFERENCE

A former member of an Anti-Somali Revolution Organisation calling itself «Somali Democratic Action Front» (SODAF) held a press-conference in Mogadishu to denounce the sinister activities of the group on 13th of June.

«The so-called «SODAF» was a group of just over 10 who had no other supporters, he said, adding that therefore it is not worth to call them a front or even a group»

«the exact number of people in the so-called «SODAF» was 13 only and that cannot be called an organization or anything like that. And each of these had his own selfish interest; some were disgruntled because they lost their job, others were pushed by tribal feeling and the rest were after some personal material gain and so forth. Thus none of them had any concrete purpose of principle», he said. He added, that their only purpose was to under mine the Somali Nation, while concertion their action with, and serving the interests of the enemy of the Somali people.

Asked from whom they drew support Abdulrahman said, «the group receives assistance from Abyssinia, Kenya Israel and others who are inimical to the Somali cause.»

«I do not think it is necessary to explain to the Somali people why the Abyssinian and Kenyan government were supporting these 13 men. The Abyssinians

were not only fighting to wipe those who are fighting for their Independence, but have even threatened the sovereignty of the Somali Democratic Republic with destruction,» he said. He also noted that the Israel also support the Abyssinian and Kenyan Governments in their anti-Somali Schemes.

«We are all aware that Israel is the arch enemy of the Arab nation and Muslim peoples in general. They do not want to see the existence of a strong, stable Arab or Islamic state in the world» He said, «Somalia is a member of the Arab Nation and struggles hard for the right of the Palestinians and peoples who are under the rule of a parthied and racist regimes. Israel he said, does not want a government with such a policy to exist and hence extends assistance to those rising against us»

He went on to say that both Israel and Abyssinia are bound together by a common interest to control the Red Sea through which Arab Oil flows to Europe and are bent to undermine and topple Arab governments.

Asked whether the group

were involved in the recent attempted coup in Somalia, he dismissed any connection between the so-called «SODAF» and the coup plotters because, he said the group had no local supporters.

This has been evidenced by the fact that when the creation of SODAF was heard the Somalis denounced it with disgust.

«They did not get any support from Somalis whether at home or abroad» he declared.

Asked why he joined the group, Abdulrahman Salah said that it was because of his dissatisfaction with his discharge from the government service and said that he later quit its membership after it became clear to him of the selfish nature of «SODAF»

Asked where the group is based, he said that «SODAF» is based in Kenya and Ethiopia and that he was convinced that it was working for the interest of the enemies of the Somali people.

«I then decided to come back to my country, join the honest Somali people and shed the past feeling. This is not time for personal grudges, and if any it is better, better to clean one's heart and join the national struggle», he stressed.

A British Delegation Visits Somalia

The British delegation led by Mr. Ted Rowlands, a Minister of State in the British Foreign office concluded a four days visit to Somalia and left for home via Sudan on the 4th of June.

The president of the SDK Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre received at the Presidency, the British delegation on the 3rd day of their visit. The President and Mr. Rowlands discussed bilateral relations, current World

affairs in general and Africa in particular. The British Minister thanked the SDR president for the warm welcome accorded to him and his delegation.

Earlier Mr. Ted Rowlands and his delegation, paid visits to the Juba Sugar Project at Jilib and the capital of Lower Juba, where the British delegation had talks with the British technicians working on the project. Mr. Rowlands urged them to accelerate the completion of the project, which he pointed out is beneficial to Somalia's economy.

The delegation also visited Kismayo Meat Factory, the Hides and Skins Tannery.

Mr. Rowlands and his delegation during their stay in Somalia had talks with Somali officials on economic co-operation between



Somalia and Britain including Vice-president Hussein Kulmie, who received them in his office.

The delegation also signed an economic agreement on 4th of June with the officials of the National Planning Commission. Among the clauses of the Agreement was a sum of So. Sh. 23,433,600 which the British Government will

grant the SDR to purchase various equipment including fishing boats and the construction of houses for the British experts at the Jilib Sugar Project.

The Chairman of the National planning commission Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed signed the agreement on the Somali side and Mr. Ted Rowlands signed it on the British side.

Siad Cables OAU Chairman

The President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre sent on the 28th of June a Cable to the President of the Republic of Gabon, the current Chairman of the OAU informing him of the current events in the Horn of Africa.

In his Cable the President said: «I have the honour to inform your Excellency that Ethiopian air-force planes attacked and bombed civilian targets and populated areas inside the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic killing thirteen persons including women and children and

wounding fifty two others, and causing extensive damage to property. These savage aerial assaults were launched by a total of 11 war planes against the towns of Borama, Gabiley, Qulejad, Goraya-Awl, Kala-Beyd, Belli-Anod and Abdulkadir, all in the North-Western Region on three separate occasions namely June 22nd and twice on June 25th. Apart from these barbaric acts of naked aggression combined Ethiopian and Cuban forces are being amassed in various points close to the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic obvious-

sly for aggressive purposes.

These naked acts of aggression and hostility constitute a flagrant violation of UNITED NATIONS and OAU charter principles and seriously threaten peace and security not only in the SDR but also Regionally and Internationally. The Government of the SDR has so far exercised maximum restraint in the face of these aggressive acts on the part of Ethiopia but will be forced to fully exercise its right to legitimate self-defence in the event of further incursions and threats to its security.

SOWETO Symbol of Resistance

June 16th 1976 occupies a significant chapter in the historic struggle of the African people in South Africa.

In that day the indigenous African people in the township of Soweto demonstrated in support of the African students, who protested against the introduction of Afrikaans as the language of the country's medium of education. The uprising against the racial policy in education reflects the just struggle of the African people for majority rule against the policy of apartheid and the rule of monopoly capitalism. The policy of the racist state opened fire at a peaceful student demonstration, killing more than 600 innocent demonstrators who became the victims of the brutal oppression during that event in June 1976.

This incident triggered off a chain of demonstrations, strikes and outbursts in the

citadel of racism and apartheid. Soweto turned into a symbol of the unyielding will of the Africans in South Africa, of their desire to live a better life worthy of their heroism against the worst of oppressive systems.

This anniversary concludes with International Anti-apartheid year, when the world massively participates in preparation for the world conference of U.N. to combat racism and racial discrimination.

The Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the bloody event in Guguletu and other similar events still echo distinctly in the minds of African people and in the world as whole.

All these events expressed in true color the real face of the racist regime in South Africa and its brutality against innocent people.

To mark the Soweto upheaval, peoples from different strata: Students, Workers

and peasants in Soweto gathered in a mass rally to observe the heedy events in Soweto and at the same time to emphasise the indomitable spirit of resistance of the people to the system of Apartheid and racial discrimination.

Also, on the 2nd anniversary of Soweto uprising, the police arrested more than 600 people at road blocks in the Transvaal, and placed the black ghetto of Soweto under near Siege. Armed police set up road blocks in and around the sprawling township of over one million blacks as part of what they called a crime prevention Campaign.

The memory of Soweto will always live, in the minds of all those who refuse to be reconciled with the abominations of racism and apartheid, and it marks a new World action for the rapid and total elimination of the policy of apartheid and racial prejudice.

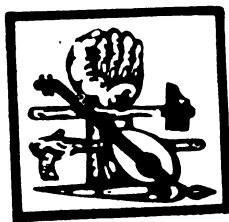
NOTICE

We remind the readers that Halgan, the official organ of the CC of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, comes out in three languages: monthly Somali and English issues and a trimonthly Arabic issue.

Copies are available in:

- Samatar Bookshop
- Shabelle
- African Booksellers
- Hotel Uruba
- Hussein Farmashie Shop
- Books and Journal stand opposite «Caffe Nazionale».

CULTURAL AND ARTS



Play Review :

History Cannot be Forgotten

Bohe

Casting back our memory the youthfulness of our Theatre impresses itself upon our minds. This is the case in as much as our theatre seriously started operation in the forties of this century in the cities of Mogadshu and Hargeisa. Immature as our theatre is, nonetheless it has not gone through the necessary radical evolution it could have achieved within that short span of time. The non-occurrence of badly needed transformation is explicable on a number of factors, amongst which the lack of academic education by the professionally involved personnel in our theatre features prominently. Personalities taking active interest in our theatre have worked hard and drew their inspiration from practices set by their predecessors. Having a close look at our theatre it becomes clearly manifest how no major efforts were expended to transform the formerly existing theatrical forms.

In this article it is our objective to analyse a play, first in its kind, which saw its debut on July 1st, 1978 on the commemoration of the three monumental and valuable victories scored by the Somali Nation that day. The staging of this play and its seeing the light of day is due to the cooperative endeavours between the ideology bureau of the SRSP and the Waberi Artistes. Inspiring the contents of the play, and

thus defining its essence, is the bitter and long struggle waged by the Somali people in the accomplishment of independence, which under the present conditions expresses itself in the ongoing liberation war in the colonised Somali inhabited areas in order to augment Somali unity.

This play for the first time introduces a new element into our theatrical form. For the most part, the actors are silent and the meaning of the play is fully conveyed by the drum beats and the elegant and expressive movement of the actors. In large part the play was acted out by the folklore dancers of Waberi Artistes who admittedly spared no efforts to make their new form of acting a swelling success. In the process, the artistes while making use of the traditional dance, none the less it gave new dimensions and meaning.

The play was divided up as follows:

1. Struggle: The play at its start shows us a peacefully settled community thoroughly enjoying life in the midst of plenty. To show their joy of life they are happily dancing and sending their voices to be reverberated in the vast expanse surrounding them. Suddenly the dance stops. Abdikadir, the leading male actor enters and with all his heart, and facial features portending trouble sy-

mbolises the advent of the colonialist enemy. Consciousness is born, peace is gone, and the good home is no longer the happy home, and heroic Abdalkadir cries when he sees the land divided into five. Dancers equipped with spears succeed to cut two ropes and Abdalla Rage, who was previously securely tied is freed and he rises to his full height to convey that the year 1960 has come.

2. EVERY ONE FOR HIMSELF.

It is the era when every one sought to further his own interest, and the national goals were casted overboard. Sheikh Abokor, who is decidedly worried about our lonesome flag goes to accost everyone around him. Almost everyone turns a deaf ear to him. Only Fynus and Osman are convinced by him. «I understand ... fully understand» young Osman states. «It has been understood and fully understood» Faynus replied. The encouragement brings Abdilkadir and Omar harking, and the four simultaneously raise the flag aloft. This is the birth of the lovable 21st October Revolution.

3. A REVOLUTIONARY ERA:

This is underscored by the range of campaigns embarked upon, and the continuing divisions amongst our people, bred in by the pre-years of the re-

volution, between those committed to revolutionary transry and those who through every step left no stone unturned to make our journey to better life a very painful, slow and uphill one. Though the acting was perfect silence, the imagery was so powerful and convencing thereby attained success in its explanotary mission. People were all busy in farming, self-help schemes, involved in the literacy campiagn, and other numerous tasks. However, two men are running helter and skelter amidst the toiling masses, till they reach the stage of utter exhaustion.

But their is not toil, it is the opposite— digging deep pits to bury the revolution. But one is finally caught up with and justiciably dealt with. The birth of the SRSP is here and now.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS: It is the part devoted to the liberation of the Somali Coast and Abyssinian colonised Somali West. A Zailian dance, «Haybara» opens the part thus symbolically announcing Jibuti independence. Three short portrayals are seen to intimately spell out the callous Abyssinian oppressive treatment of the Somali people, and their

courageous resistance to this degradation.

The major part of the play is entitled: Never assume that I will accept enslavement.» These words re-echo some well known poetic lines of Sayid Mohamed Abadalla Hassan. This is the war of national liberation in which the unholy alliance took an ignoble part. Here the acting shows the encirclement of the enemy troops.

Over and above this there were 5 songs in the play, and the concluding one brone the title of the play:

«HISTORY CANNOT BE FORGOTTEN».

ON NON – ALIGNMENT

(Continued from Page 16)

ties all over the world are naturally moving towards socialism. Now to introduce the policy of adventurism, the policy of imposing socialism from a particular world center, would mean to halt such processes and lend new strength to imperialism and all reactionary social forces which would, under such conditions, appear as the leading forces defending national independence. The recent events in Africa bear witness to this process of aggravating tensions under the slogan of promoting (i.e. exporting) a particular brand of socialism while

actually pursuing big power strategic interests..

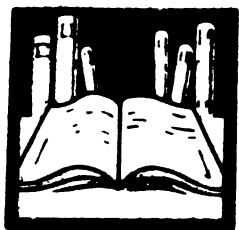
Socialism exerts influence both as a political and economic force if its behaviour is consistently socialistic. The progressive non-aligned movement intends to demand of socialism that its behaviour be consistently socialistic.

During the last 23 years, the non-aligned movement has confronted imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism, Zionism, Super-power rivalries and hegemonism in various battle-fields political economic, social, cultural, ideological as well as military and diplomatic fields. At each

stage, the movement challenged such evil forces and gained in strength and solidarity. The more the unity and dedication to the principles of non-alignment the more guarantee for greater success in the future.

To achieve such unity, it is imperative for the members of the non-aligned movement to have the wisdom and initiative to resolve amicably conflicts and disputes among and within members states. The members of the movement should also have the courage to rebuff and even expell any state that violates the principles of the non-aligned movement.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



BLAMING THE VICTIM—AN ASPECT OF ETHIOPIAN IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY

A Critique of Mesfin Wold Mariam's Publication-

Somalia - The Problem Child of africa Hussein M. Adan.

PART I

Mesfin Wolde Mariam, Head of the Department of Geography, Haile Selassie 1 University, Addis Ababa, Published in 1964, his first advocacy of Ethiopian colonialism under the title, *The Background of the Ethio-Somalia Boundary Dispute* (Addis Ababa, 1964). Virtually the same piece appeared under the same title in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2, 2, (1964), pp. 189-219. In 1977, the same Mesfin published a hysterical plea for Ethiopian colonialism under the title: *Somalia: The Problem Child of Africa* (Addis Ababa, September 1977). This essay offers an extended critique of the latter pamphlet; but first, a word about the earlier piece.

The Mesfin Wolde Mariam of 1964: A Charitable Colonial Mentality:

In his 1964 publication, Mesfin Wolde Mariam purports to go through extended studies of international legal treaties to «prove» the «legitimacy» of Ethiopian colonial domination of Western Somalia — the so-called Ogaden Province.

In 1964 the Ethiopian Empire headed by Haile Selassie, the so-called Lion of Judah and king of kings, seemed eternal, and Mesfin Wolde Ma-

riam could look to his future worries of any kind. The colonialist intellectual could afford to relax, live benevolently and display a mood of charity. He seemed to imply that the colonized Somalis could only be grateful to him for softening what was coming to them. *C o n f i d e n t* in his colonialist assumptions, Wolde Mariam in 1964 openly declares that Ethiopia has to continue its occupation of Western Somalia for «economic and strategic considerations. The prospect of petroleum in Ogaden obviously is important.» (1).

Following that assertion, Wolde Mariam relaxes and waxes charitable:

«I have attempted to show that Ethiopia and Somalia are more than just neighbours, they are vital to each other and that they complement each other . . . I would even venture further and suggest that the two Governments should openly discuss a formula by which they can mutually benefit from the revenue of the prospective petroleum.» (2)

Thus we detect the mental attitude called «paternalistic» in Wolde Mariam's 1964 writings. Paternalism implies stretching colonialism and inequality farther — once admitted. It is, if you like, a charitable colonial mentality

— which is not thereby less skillful nor less dangerous. For the most generous paternalism revolts as soon as the colonized people demand their right for self-determination. Having established an immoral order where he is by definition master and innocent, the colonialist intellectual Wolde Mariam tries, in his 1964 writings, to give himself absolution. It is very essential for such a mentality that this order not be questioned by others and especially not by the colonized.

Recent events marked the beginning of the end for Ethiopian Empire and with it that immoral order which permits a colonialist intellectual to view himself as master and innocent. Unlike in the early sixties, 1977 confronts Mesfin Wolde Mariam with the realization that he could no longer afford to relax, live benevolently and display charity. With violent indignation, he tears off the mask of paternalism, he freezes the hypocritical smile accompanying a charitable colonial mentality.

The Mesfin Wolde Mariam of 1977 groans, howls and displays the bloody claws of a vulture ready to devour its victims. But, inspite of the shrieking tone, the vulture of 1977 is a wounded vulture, a sickly vulture. Wolde Mariam's 1977

pamphlet is full of cheap insults, he spare no effort to find vile epithets which he hurls at Somalia and the Somalis. The tone is no longer pretentiously calm and assured, on the contrary, it is the tone of someone acutely nervous, someone hysterical

Perhaps one need not be too indignant about it.

Because, after all we must resign ourselves to the inevitable and admit that the Ethiopian colonialist is condemned to become every day more snarling, more openly ferocious, more shameless, more summarily barbarous; it is generally true that, before it completely disappears, every exploiting group must first disgrace itself completely, on all fronts.

The Ideology of Blaming the Victim:

Mesfin Wolde Mariam's publication, *Somalia — The Problem Child of Africa* — is a striking example of the ideology of Imperial Ethiopia, the ideology of blaming the victim (3) as a best means of justifying and maintaining colonial oppression. In Marxist writing, the concept of ideology, implies, broadly:

1) a system of beliefs characteristic of the particular class or group;

2) a system of illusory beliefs — false ideas or false consciousness — which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge;

3) the general process of the production of meanings and ideas.

In this essay, the term «ideology» is used by effectively

combining senses (1) and (2) above reflecting the way of looking at the world, of the Ethiopian national and class oppressing strata, Wolde Mariam best manifestes the blaming the victim aspect of that ideology. Thus the historically complex national and social problems within the Horn of Africa are analyzed in terms of the deficiencies of the victims of colonialism — in this case «Somalia and the Somalis». Somalia is blamed for all the problems that have festered and are now exploding within the former Ethiopian Empire accordingly, Mesfin Wolde Mariam offers an extraordinarily simple formula for resolving the conflicts: change the victims, in this instance, the Somalis must change their «abnormal psychology». The Somalis are portrayed as «deprived children» who have deficiencies that have not allowed them to «mature». In his world-view, wolde Mariam depicts the victims of colonial oppression and those who militantly assists them in their struggle, as strange, abnormal, different — in other words, as barbarians and savages. Asly form of racism pervades his trenchant pamphlet. He tries to disguise this by adorning it with sings of valid scholarship, figures and statistics, tedious quotations, copious foot notes, pretensions use of scientific terminology (some of this crudely snatched from Marxist Leninist writings).

Mesfin Wolde Mariam screams at the world, asking international opinion to focus on the need to-revamp and revise victims, never on the necessity of decolonizing the Ethiopian Empire in order to lay a firm, just basis for the national reconciliation of the fraternal peoples of the Horn. Mesfin Wold Mariam's publication is

an aspect of colonialist ideological warfare. The tragic fact is that it is mythology that has poisoned certain good minds in Ethiopia and elsewhere, especially within certain African circles, the very people who must reject this ideological distortion if we are to achieve African solutions for Africa's problems.

ON PSYCHOANALYSING THE VICTIMS

Mesfin Wolde Mariam is a specialist in geography. He is neither a psychiatrist nor a psychologist. Nevertheless, in his eagerness to throw mud at the Somalis, he appropriates and misuses psychoanalytical terms and thereby reveals himself to be an academic charlatan. He utilizes psychological generalisations without bothering to offer any empirical evidence for his conclusions; indeed, he is unable to do so and does not even seem to be perturbed by the superficiality of his «psychological» terminology. Listen to Wolde Mariam:

«The distinction between the normal and the abnormal, difficult as it may be is discernible. One psychologist suggests that exaggeration and anti-social conduct, expressed in the legal definition dangerous to himself or others may be the criteria that distinguish the abnormal from the normal.

Somalia is suffering from an advanced form of group phantasy, a complex that is incompatible with reality... this Somali malady... is not properly understood by the world community at large and by Somalia's neighbours... Somalia has not yet learnt interna-



tional norms of conduct... (4).

Earlier on, he asserts that Somalis have the psychology of «tonghminded criminals».

These and other assertions of wolde Mariam's pamphlet remind us of Franz Fanon's insightful observation about colonialism seeking to be considered as a «mother who unceasingly restrains her fundamentally perverse offspring from managing to commit suicide and from giving free rein to its evil instincts. The colonial mother protects her child from itself, from its ego, and from its physiology, its biology, and its own unhappiness which is its very essence» (6).

Wolde Mria's pamphlet represents superficial version of M. Mannoni's notorious book *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*. Aime Cesaire once made the following critical comments with regards to Mannori's applogy for colonialism:

«As for M. Mannoni... Follow him step by step through the ins and outs of his little conjuring tricks, and he will prove to you as clear as day that colonization is based on psychology, that there are in this world groups of men who, for unknown reasons, suffer from what must be called dependency complex, that this is the case with most of the colonized peoples and with the Madagascans in particular.

Away with racism! away with colonialism! They smack too much of barbarism. M. Mannoni has something better: psychoanalysis... the most down-at-heel cliches are resoled for you made good and new; the most absurd prejudices are explained and justified; and, as if by magic, the

moon is turned into the green cheese». (7)

Mesfin Wolde Mariam is obviously a pupil, albeit not so bright, insert of M. Mannoni, so let us proceed with Aime Cesaire's remarks:

«Don't let the subtleties of vocabulary, the new terminology, frighten you! You know the old refrain: «The Negroes are big children». They take it, they dress it up for you, tangle it up for you, tangle it up for you. The result is mannoni... (Come on you know how it is: These Negroes can't even imagine what freedom is. They don't want it, they don't demand it. It's the white agitators who put that into their heads. And if you gave it to them, they wouldn't know what to do with it)».

Cesaire goes on to make a telling point:

«If you point out to M. Mannoni that Madagascans have nevertheless revolted several times since the French occupation and again recently in 1947, M. Mannoni, faithful to his premises, will explain to you that is purely neurotic behavior, a collective madness, a running amok; that moreover, in this case it was not a question of the Madagascans' setting out to conquer real objectives but an «imaginary security», which obviously implies that the oppression of which they complain is an imaginary oppression» (8)

Similarly, Mesfin Wolde Mariam labels Somali struggles for self-determination and unity, «sheer insanity». According to his «psychoanalytical» reasoning, this perverted psychology of Somalis makes «Somalia dangerous to friend

and foe alike». (9) His anti-historical approach allows him to allege that Somalis are not struggling for real socio-political objectives, he portrays them suffering an «imaginary malady». Like Mannoni in the case of the Madagascans, Wolde Mariam sees in the Somalis a dependency complex suited for colonization. Rejecting the Somali claim that they were «brutally divided by colonialists», Wolde Mariam goes on to assert that the Somalis «were so available and willing to give themselves, their country and their territory to a company and when there was no sign of resistances, there was no need for brutality.» (10) At another point he proclaims: «After the Second World War, defeated Italy returned to her former colony of Somaliland, against Ethiopia's strong protest, as a United Nations trusteeship administering power. But the people of the former Italian Somaliland once again accepted Italian authority sheepishly for ten years more.» (11). We see a concrete illustration of the points made by Fanon and Cesaire above: Imperial Ethiopia acting as a mother bent on protecting a perverse people whose very nature condemns them to welcome colonial bondage «sheepishly»-

Given such premises, Somalis cannot wish to be free and united. National liberation movement in Africa and elsewhere, in at one point led to the birth of nationalist parties agitating for national independence. Indian history gives the example of the Indian National Congress, led by Gandhi and Nehru; in the former Gold Coast colony (now Ghana), Kwame Nkrumah led the Convention People's Party. Similar parties sprang up elsewhere in colonized Africa...

in Somalia, the Somalia Youth League was formed in 1943 to channel Somali struggles for independence and unification. Let us recall Cesaire's sarcastic remarks: «These Negroes can't even imagine what freedom is . . . It's the white agitators who put it into their heads» (12). Listen to Mesfin Wolde Mariam: «Somalia was impregnated by British imperialism with the idea of Greater Somalia. The British had also organized and trained the leaders of the Somali Youth League which they hoped be the mid-life». (13).

Wolde Mariam goes on to make the horrendous charge that the «White agitator» who put the concept of self-deter-

mination into «his anthropological subjects — the Somalis», is none other than the British social anthropologist I. M. Lewis (14). Wolde Mariam briefly refers to a lecture on «the genuine principle of self-determination» that Professor I. M. Lewis is supposed to have delivered at the University of Glasgow in 1964. What were the circumstances surrounding the lecture? What was the composition of the audience at the lecture? Wolde Mariam is silent on these and several other issues. His reference to I.M. Lewis' lecture on self-determination is simply meant as camouflage, it is intended to tantalize the naive reader in order to facilitate his malicious conclusion:

«The demonstrable truth is that with advisors like Professor Lewis whose knowledge of the United Nations and international law is abysmally and pathetically poor, Somalia is certain to make the region unstable.» (15). The conclusion is arrived at by means of ascription of motives and effects. Like every other point in the pamphlet, nothing is seriously and rationally argued; conclusions are merely inferred from the presentation of juxtaposed quotations and the existence of a distorted textual context.

Part II of this critique will continue in the next issue of Halgan.

HALGAN

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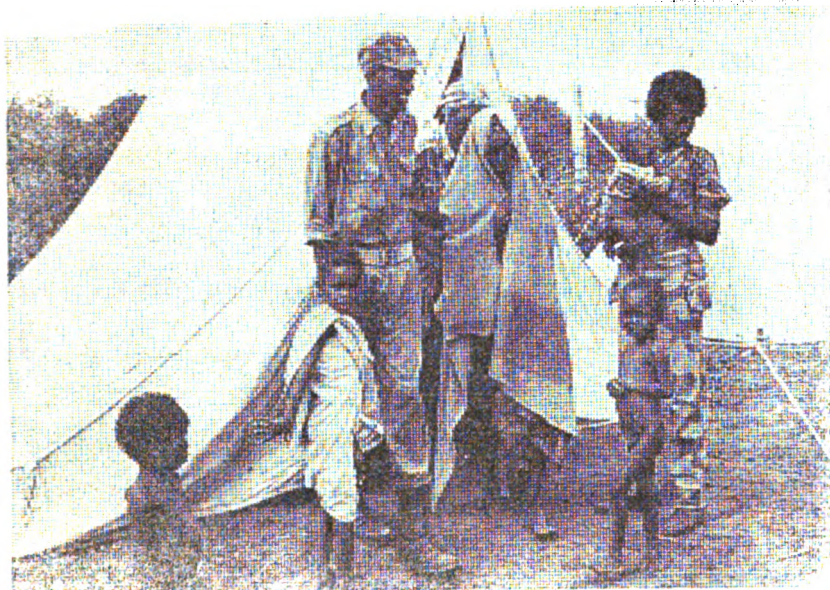
— October Revolution Anniversary Parade.

— Fighting sand dunes expansion that were threatening one of the most fertile areas of Somalia



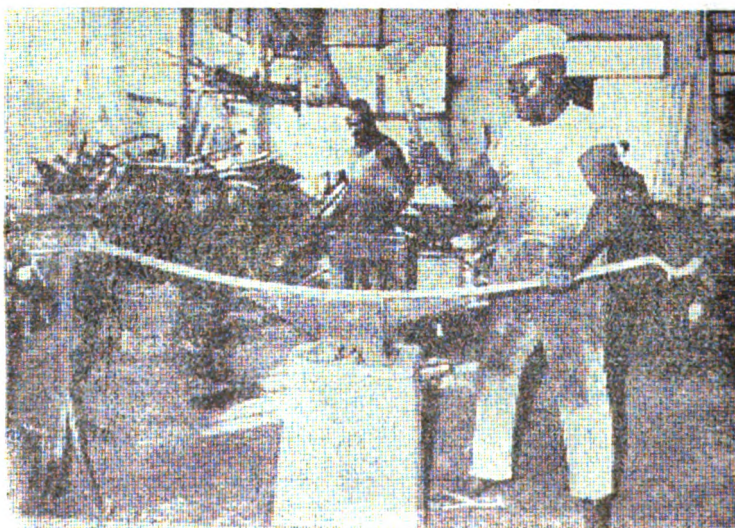
— Small Boy fully participating in a self-help scheme.

— Girl students in full combat uniform To defend motherland



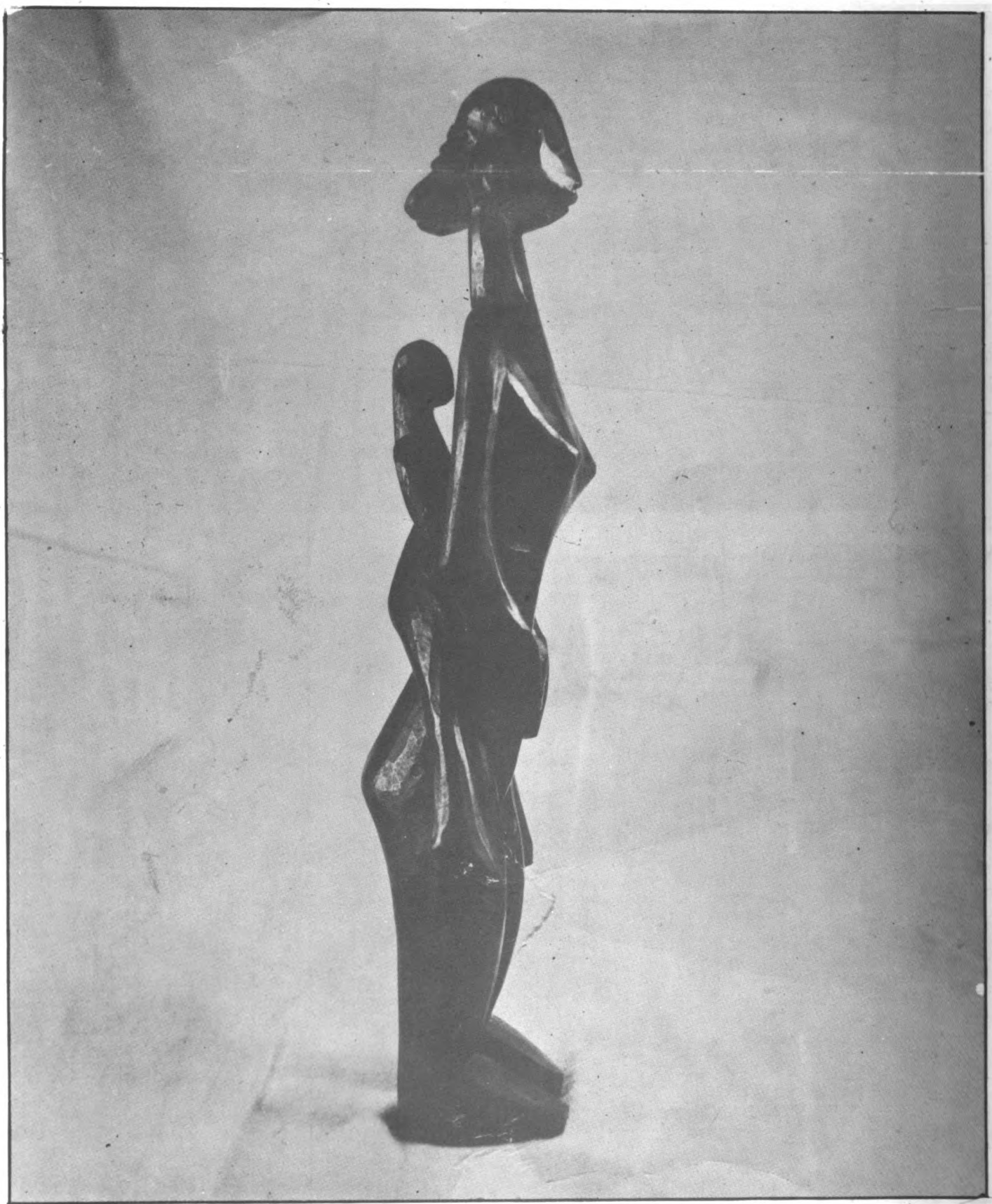
— Drouth stricken noma-
ds... resettled in agricultu-
ral and costal areas.

— Serious at work..





**The Flowers of The Revolution:
Tomorrow's Hope.**



Somali Wood Carvings.

HAILGAN!



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

* 15th Summit Conference of The OAU Heads of States.

- * Leading Role of The Party And The Social Organisations.
- * A Contribution to The Somali Theatre.
- * Class Struggle: A Motive Force of Development.

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better



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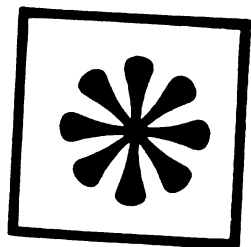
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EDITORIAL

The out come of the Recent OAU conference

At about the end of last year and the beginning of the current one there was a lot of talk about the various problems besetting different regions of the African continent, and for which solutions as yet have not been found. It was the great hope of most Africans that the Heads of States and Governments at their summit meeting, held in khartoum last july would at last find solutions for the pressing questions, amongst which the following are of utmost importance:

- 1) The Horn of Africa question.
- 2) The question of Southern Africa.
- 3) The case of Chad.
- 4) The case of Western Sahara.
- 5) The Foreign interference in Africa's internal Affairs.
- 6) The search for a lasting middle East peace settlement which Africa now tends to leave to the big powers and the confrontation directly concerned.

Finally the African summit was held and all the questions were given attentive consideration. The participants to the preparatory council of Ministers of the summit conference, while preparing the Agenda could not agree on the inclusion of some issue in the agenda and being unable to put forward specific recommendations they had to let the Heads of states and governments study the matters in greater depth.

This, for the first time introduced a change in the ordinary procedure that is normally followed in similar conferences. The summit meeting was made to go into detailed discussions, while in the past the council of Ministers presented matters after thorough deliberations for the approval of the Heads of states and Governments. In this Conference, the Heads of States and Governments had to formulate their own agenda and to filter through the issues to be considered at the meeting from those which did not have special urgency to be put to discussion.

The atmosphere in which the discussions occurred brought to light new approaches in regard to issues to be deliberated and the resolution of the unavoidable tensions which made itself acutely felt in this gathering: We may take example of

the issue on foreign intervention in Africa's internal affairs, as this is a fundamental question, which for sometime has receded into the background but now has ominously reappeared again thereby necessitating an exhaustive discussion by African heads of states. However the rather saddening thing is that they could not conclusively agree. This meant that the African leaders were aware of the importance of the issue and yet, while recognizing the necessity to see all foreign forces pulling out of this continent, they tended to give different interpretations to the same matter in accordance with the conditions prevailing in their respective countries or regions.

Although the discussions were conducted in this inconclusive manner, nonetheless, the leaders adopted a resolution calling for the sisterly states to consider and fulfill their responsibilities towards the continent's defence and security.

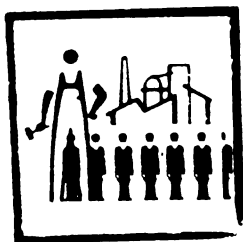
When the issue of the Horn of Africa was brought up, clearly the African leaders understood how complex the matter is. True to its character, Ethiopia tried to present the issue as a border problem between itself and Somalia. And on its side, Somalia did its best to let the African leaders gain a realistic picture of this question by showing how Ethiopia colonised the peoples in the Horn of Africa; and how these peoples embarked upon a long struggle to free themselves from Ethiopian colonial yoke. The Somali Democratic Republic pointed out that Russo-cuban intervention was consciously designed to destroy the Somali peoples right-ful aspirations through military might. Somalia for a long time has been sparing no efforts to win the world public opinion to this just cause which in essence is different from the border disputes between African States. Accordingly the SDR elaborated on the scope of the peoples struggle for independence and self-determination.

It was evident that the African leaders appreciated the gravity of issue and proposed to find a just and peaceful solution in order to prevent any possible conflict between the two neighbouring countries. They recommended, among other things, that both Somali and Ethiopian forces pull back 5 km inside their respective boundaries, and that the war preparations immediately cease. Moreover they exhorted the good offices committee to redouble its efforts to find a final and lasting peaceful solution.

What remains now for the African leaders is to courageously deal with the real roots of the whole problem i.e. The colonial nature of Ethiopia which has been subjugating the peoples of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea. Doubtlessly, Africa would have condemned Ethiopia as harshly as it condemns the colonial and racist oppression in Southern Africa if it knew the true nature of Ethiopian colonialism.

Africa will be an easy victim to naked foreign intervention which will invent all kinds of pretexts and excuses to keep our region languish under colonial oppression and suffer continuous instability.

POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS



THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS

The Somali National Liberation Movement has passed through various stages in its struggle for independence, national Unity and Social progress. The 21st October Revolution carried out by the armed forces under the leadership of Jaalle Siad signified the need for the Liberation Movement to pass into a new and higher phase necessitated by the objective historical conditions in the country.

In its first and 2nd charter, the 21 October Revolution clearly outlined the imperative need for the realisation of the peoples aspiration towards independence, Unity, the safeguarding of national Sovereignty, and social progress; and in its struggle towards these national aims, the 2nd Charter has unequivocally Stated that the Socialist ideology is the only one capable of ensuring a rapid progress and the creation of a society free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

During the 9 years of Revolutionary rule, there has been many remarkable achievements in all the spheres of our social life. The mobilisation, orientation and political education of the masses has been among the spheres where the revolution has reached particular success. The main purpose behind these measures has been to prepare the masses for a full and effective

participation in running the affairs of the State. To put this into effect, the Social organisations were established.

Commenting on this subject, the SRSP Secretary General, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, had this to say «Now the Conditions are fully Conducive to popular rule, which the Revolution has so dedicatedly been at work to realise.»

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, shouldering its responsible task of leading the Somali society, has made it clear in its 1st Congress 1.7.1976 that it would lead and organise the nation through a programme that would bring about the radical transformation of the Somali society. It is, therefore incumbent upon the SRS party to carry out the National reconstruction duties through the Socialist system, of course taking into account the specific conditions prevailing in our society. But apart from the Party's heavy responsibility to lead the people in the national development, it is also essential that there should exist a strong, harmonious and well-defined relations between the Party, the social organisations, and all the other progressive groups and elements in the Society for the fulfillment of the Party Programme, its resolution, and statute. The maintenance of a permanent link

with the masses is another essential factor towards this end, and that is why the SRS party, which is a party of the new type, stresses as one of its basic, fundamental principles the inseparable links with the working masses.

Comrade Lenin, the internationally recognised exponent of the Party of the new type, gave a precise definition of what this means, emphasising that the invincibility of the Party lies in its close links with the working people:

«To live in the very midst of the masses.

«To know their mood.

«To know every thing.

«To understand the masses.

«To be able to approach them.

«To win their absolute Confidence.

«Not to isolate the leaders from the masses who are being led, the whole army of labour».

In the same vein the SRS Party Programme also emphasises the link with the masses: «The concept that the party can fulfill everything in isolation from the masses is purely illusory and imaginative. Socialism can only be fulfilled when it enjoys the support of the masses. That

is the reason why the Party has to rely in the progressive forces, such as the workers, the youth, the women, the peasants, the nomads, the armed forces etc, in the fulfilment of its tasks and the edification of Socialism. Of course the Party's link with the masses is mainly through the mass organisations such as those of the workers, youth, Women, Cooperatives as also through its relations with the various State organs. This is how the SRS Party comes to lead the activities of the social organisations and those of the State apparatus.

Moreover, the party sets out the Political system and directs the functions of the Social organisations and enhances their roles and rights by enrolling certain of its best cadres in the Social organisations leading bodies. The importance of this is easily conceived when one puts into mind that the Party is the only Political organisation in the country solely responsible for leading, guiding and directing the duties and tasks of the social organisations and State organs.

The Liberation struggle of the Somali people has now entered upon a new phase characterised by the emergence of new phenomena in our country, the whole region around us, and the world at large. The prevailing new conditions definitely effect the revolutionary process in our country, our relations with the international forces, the leadership role of the SRS Party, the mood and morale of the Social organisations, and the other stratas of our Society. The present critical situation can only be successfully surmounted, the difficulties overcome, the re-

volutionary process enhanced, social transformation effected, reactionary forces defeated and their efforts frustrated, the unity of the Somali people consolidated, our relations with the progressive forces of the world strengthened for all these and other relevant matters associated with them it is important that the Party should, in the light of the Present precarious situation, reassess the present phase the Somali people is passing through, revise its tasks of mobilization, direction, Control, inspection, guidance and administration. A daring re-appraisal is badly needed.

Despite the fact that both the Party Programme, and its Statute are clearly outlined in the documents, yet the truth remains that quite an appreciable number seem to be as yet hardly acquainted with the contents of these documents that constitute the soul and spirit of our SRS Party. That is why it is high time that the party leadership arranged ways and means of getting in communion with the Party organs and the social organisations with the sole purpose of improving their political standard, engaging them in democratic discussion to hear their ideas and opinions giving them full rights to carry out their role independently with zest and vigour, of course with the party leadership advising them, helping and assisting them in their duties. It is felt, in this respect, that a great deal of benefit would have been derived if the Party would expedite the introduction of a clearly outlined definition on the tasks of the Party, the State, the Social organisations and their inter-relations. A very comprehensive study of this material by the people

would indeed clarify a lot of matters that upto now seem to be shrouded with ambiguity. Likewise it is the duty of the social organisations and all the progressive forces in our society to diligently carry out the responsibility entrusted to them by the Party.

The social organisations are the main instruments through which the Party maintains its link with the masses. They are the reserve army of the Party. They are its best organised social force that is always ready to unconditionally implement the citations of the Secretary General of the SRS Party; Jaalle Siad, the resolution passed by the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the state Policy, the Party programme and the Party statute, and the objectives of the 21 October Revolution.

Stressing upon the relation and inter-independence between the Party and the social organisations, the Secretary General, Jaalle Siad, said the workers are «The backbone of the Revolution» and Youth are «The reserve and most militant assistant of the party».

It has been slightly more than one year since the social organisations were established. But during this short span of time, they have commendably accomplished good work by way of organisation, abidance by party directives, establishment of their regional and district branches, and participation in the national development programmes. Yet it can be safely said that a great deal more still remains to be tackled. The streamlining of their organisational activities, the cementing of their interrelations, fostering their

(See page 19)

PARTY LIFE



Report on the first session of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union central Committee

On 4-7 July 1978 a historical meeting was held here in Mogadisho in the headquarters of the SRYU. It was the first meeting of its kind in our history (This is to be subsequently elaborated). It was the first session that the SRYU'S Central committee held inasmuch as the CC carries out the already set up goals, objectives as well as the day to day matters involving youth in between the Congresses. It is to be noted here that the SRYU is not the first youth organisation of its type in our country.

Somali youth used to have its own organisations which were forerunners to the present one. Amongst the most illustrious of these youth organisations, and most deserving to remember is the Somali Youth League, established in the memorable year of 1943, which initially started as the Somali Youth club, whi-

ch nominally was not a political organisation. However, with regard to the SRYU thanks to the nature of its membership, form of its structure and its programme and constitution can proudly state that it is a youth organisation of a special type.

After a year and 46 day of the SRYU's establishment since 15th May 1977, its central committee has been honestly implementing the tasks entrusted to them by the founding congress; and in accordance with the central committee instructions.

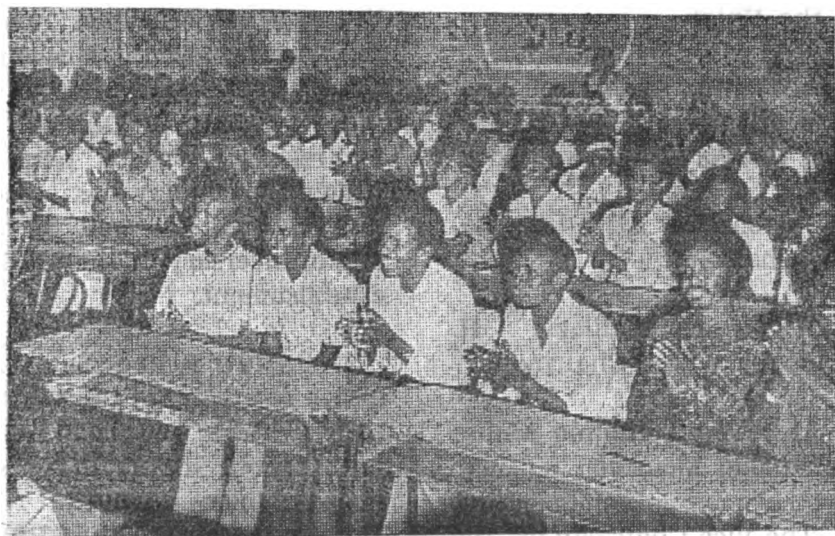
After an opening ceremony officiated by Comrade Mohamed Mohmoud Warsame, the executive committee submitted a comprehensive resume of the activities accomplished with in the period of its establishment. The report of the committee was tied to the plan already set, and covered



those tasks most successfully implemented and the ones which still wait to be executed. Obviously an important aspect of the report was to pinpoint the reason for the impediments that were confronted, and at the same time discussions revolved around the new plan to be laid down.

Generally the tasks the report dealt with comprised the following:-

1. General Organisation of the Union.
2. Affairs turning on the economy and administration.
3. Training, mobilisation and consciousness raising.
4. Active participation in



the country's construction and defence.

Apart from the executive committee's general report, the regional and national university representatives of the Union delivered specific reports. All the reports transmitted were founded upon a common perspective and did not depart from the spirit the general report conveyed.

The meeting had to handle an extensive agenda which contained a programme entailing a number of activities to be embarked upon. This was due to the fact that it was the first meeting of the central committee which was delayed due to objective circumstances. Besides the union being new and inexperienced hampered its activities and diluted the high standards which it set for itself.

It also became necessary to review the Union's constitution, and to publish a supplement any a by law where necessary elucidation will be proffered. Equally the Central Committee had to review the executive Committee's membership as two vacancies had to be filled up. Additionally the Vice Chairman had to be named for the various departments of the Union. Most importantly the agenda contained a necessary plan for the work activities for the coming 6 months.

All the above points were comprehensively and democratically discussed by the central committee members, and each one expressed his/her own opinion in accordance with the principle of criticism and self-criticism.

The points of paramount

importance such as the constitution and supplementary by law were accorded serious consideration and lower committees were appointed to study them, and in the 2nd session their recommendations will be deliberated on.

The sections of the constitution dealt with cover the parts dealing with the general principles of the Union, the central executive committee's respective capacities, responsibilities devolving on the employed youth secretariat and those of the university students.

The overall review of the executive committee's membership has been agreed to be as follows:

1. Comrade Osman Warsame Salah elected Secretary of the Foreign relations department.

2. Comrade Osman Mohomoud Hashi elected Secretary for the Art and Sport Department.

3. Comrade Noor Fiki elected Secretary for the economic department.

4. Comrade Halimo Sheikh Mohomoud elected Secretary for organisation department of the Union.

In respect of Control and auditing committee the following revision has been made.

1. Comrade Ali Adan Salah, Chairman

2. Comrade Abdilaziz H. Mohamed Vice Chairman

3. Comrade Halimo Muuse Mohamoud Member

The Vice Chairman of the

various departments comprise the following:

1. Department of Union affairs — Comrade Hussein Mao

2. Organisational department — Comrade Ali Wehelie Jimale

3. Ideology Department — Comrade Abdilkadir Igal and Ahmed Mohamed Hassan.

4. Foreign relation department — Comrade Khalif Abdirahman

5. Art and Sport department — Comrade Mohamed Dahir Afrah and Mohamoud Alsow Adawe.

6. Educational department — Comrade Ibrahim Ahmed Afrah

7. Economic department — Comrade Mohamed Abokor Mayo

8. Employed Youth department — Comrade Hassan Noor Faahiye

10. Young pioneers of the Revolution. Mohamed Harako.

The first session of the SRYU central committee meeting coincided with an especially important occasion when the Somali nation was celebrating the 18th anniversary of independence, the Union of two regions of the 5 parts to which our country has been dismembered, as well as the 2nd anniversary of the SRSP's establishment.

The SRYU is undeniably an active reservoir of the SRSP's long strategic goals of transforming our society along socialistic lines, thereby the 2nd anniversary of the SRSP's

birth has particular meaning and value for the Somali Youth.

Looking at from another angle we are in a period when our nation is traversing a most difficult path, and a bitter struggle is being waged against colonialism, backwardness and the ascertainment of true sovereignty. We are in a time when imperialism and all its abettors, internally and in the world arena, our independence, unity and further advance are being subject to continuous conspiracies and subversion. Accordingly the revolutionary progressive Somali forces ought to brave themselves to foil these pernicious conspiracies and move forward to realise the noble goals of our nation's prosperity. The SRYU which indisputably counts itself as an integral part of the progressive flank of our society decided in the first session of its central committee to wage an uncompromising struggle against all forces and elements which endeavour to halt the onward march of historical progress. This inescapably necessitates a consistent fulfilment of the programme agreed upon.

Our call is addressed to revolutionary Youth whom we exhort to be ever vigilant and open eyed with regard to the changing political relations in the world arena which invariably is becoming more and more favourable to the national liberation movement and the democratic forces in alignment with it. The call draws its inspiration from the qualitatively new period of the SRYU's farsighted analysis underlines our nation's present destiny, and the Youth's preparedness to sacrifice their dear lives in order to ensure a revolutionary victory for the Somali nation at large.

The call announces our moral and material support to the Somali West liberation front and Abbo which fighting to liberate the Somali people languishing under the Abyssinian Colonial yoke. Further more the SRYU sends its comradely support and exhortation to the struggling African and Arab peoples in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Eritrea, Palestine and all those shedding their blood for freedom and democracy.

In the concluding sessions of the SRYU central committee members attended, and in representation Comrade Abdilkadir H. Mohamed Chairman of the mobilisation bureau delivered a speech of support Comrade Abdilkadir intimated his deep appreciation of the SRYU central committee style of work and the efficient handling of their meeting. «Your meeting evinced a matured style of work and a heightened political consciousness which deserves emulation by other

social organisations», he said.

Not worthy to mention is the undying interest which permeated the meeting all throughout the two weeks it lasted, despite the marathon nature of some of the meetings which lasted from morning to midnight. All the same there was no tiredness as the committee took its duties seriously and the points discussed were of valuable meaning to all, and additionally the meeting continued in a comradely and democratic atmosphere.

Thanks to the chanting of revolutionary and patriotic songs, the spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the meeting and made the membership meeting a smooth one. The flowers of the October revolution took a lion's share in the meeting, as they hitherto did.

In conclusion we express our hope that the SRYU's new plan will be a realisable objective, and as such will testify to our promise to our nation.

CELEBRATIONS IN COMMEMORATION OF 1st JULY

In the history of every nation, there exist great days which leave unforgettable memories. These are days which mark important events that make great changes in the movement of social development. Among the most important days which have such remarkable significance for the Somali nation is 1st July. It is the day which witnessed the attainment of independence by the Southern region of our country from the Italian colonial rule and its unification with the already liberated northern ex-British protectorate, thus forming the Somali Democratic Republic, 18 years ago. Furthermore, it is also the day which witnessed the

birth of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP) in 1976. Therefore, it is quite natural that the combination of these three great national occasions in 1st July makes this date revered and highly valued by all Somalis.

The Somali people fought hard for its independence from the yoke of colonialism; but the people's aspirations and hopes were frustrated after independence by the political leadership who fell an easy prey to neo-colonialism. The inception of the 21st October Revolution in 1969 and the establishment of the SRSP on 1st July 1976 came as a direct response to the peoples wishes &

interests by putting the liberation struggle on the right course. Celebrating this crucial day in our national history jubilant events were held throughout the country.

A CEREMONY HELD AT THE NATIONAL THEATRE

On the night of 30th June, a big ceremony was held at the National Theatre in commemoration of the 18th anniversary of national independence and the unification of the two liberated regions of our country. It was attended by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the S.D.R. Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, Central Committee members of the SRSP, a large number of high ranking functionaries, leading bodies of the government and social organizations, the diplomatic corp accredited to our country and a huge number of the public in Mogadisho.

A major event in the celebration was a concert performed by the (Waberi) artists. The theme of the concert was based on the history of the Somali national Liberation struggle and its achievements. It won the appreciation and applause of the audience present at the theatre on account of its theme and the beautiful performance of the part-taking artists.

But the occasion was crowned by a historical speech delivered by the Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. In his moving and valuable speech Jaalle Siad began by congratulating the Somali people everywhere on the august occasion of 1st July. He then turned to an appraisal of the national struggle of the Somali nation, part of which attained independence and the rest still waging a

severe war for independence and the right to self-determination. The president dealt at length with the constant struggle for freedom by those Somalis still under colonial rule and the support extended to them by the Government and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic. In his speech, the president touched upon the present deteriorating situation in the Horn of Africa. He pointed out that the problem was created by the colonial rule of the Ethiopian empire and further aggravated by her present supporters.

In view of this fact he advised that it becomes incumbent upon the O.A.U and the nonaligned countries to come up actively against all measures that impede the liberation of African people and hinder their march towards the eradication of all forms of colonial oppression.

Talking about the SRSP Party, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre said that the party has been functioning for only two years but in this short period it has accomplished quite a tremendous work. The establishment of the party regional and district branches, the convening of three meetings by the CC of SRSP in which major resolutions beneficial to the well being of the masses were adopted the establishment of the social organisation — the General Federation of the Somali Trade Unions, the Somali Democratic Womens, Organisation, the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, the Organisation of Somali Cooperatives Movement, these have been but few of the tasks carried out by the party.

At the end of his speech, Jaalle Siad made a reference to the substance of the party programme and called for its implementation by the

party members, and the social organizations. He urged all the members to double their efforts and improve the level of their political knowledge. Finally he called upon the Somali nation to be more vigilant and to strengthen its national unity.

Other events highlighting the ceremony were the public festivities. Throughout the country popular manifestations were staged by the masses in their respective district quarters. The programmes presented in the various Quarters contained varieties of cultural and folklore dances.

In their joyous manifestations, the people were joined by party officials who delivered noteworthy speeches on this grand day the 1st July. Apart from reviewing the Somali peoples fierce struggle for independence, the role played by the glorious Revolution to rectify past errors, the whole hearted participation of the Somali people in the task of national reconstruction, the SRSP speakers also stressed the need for constant vigilance, more sacrifice, and collective activity at the present precarious period through which our people are passing.

Befitting the grandiose of this occasion, the Capital city, Mogadishu has undergone on intensive cleaning campaign by the municipality workers and the general public. All the private and Government building were white-washed and the whole town decorated with neon-lights and the national flag. At the main squares and orientation centres in the capital city, the people sang and danced with merriment until the early hours of the morning. It has indeed been a gala night for the residents of Mogadishu, and the whole people of our country at large.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



President Awards Degrees

At a graduation ceremony held at the National Theatre in Mogadishu, Party General Secretary Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre awarded degrees to 148 new graduates from the faculties of Agriculture (28), Veterinary (27) Medicine (27), Engineering (16), Industrial Chemistry (16), Geology (14), Law (12) and Economics (9), of the national University.

The event took place on the 25th of July.

In a speech on the occasion the President congratulated the new graduates on their success in completing their university education and urged them to make the utmost use of what they have learned for the benefit of their country. He also expressed his appreciation of the works of the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture, the executive officers of the National University and the Italian Government who, he said, played significant roles in translating the Revolution's objective of establishing higher educational institutions into a reality.

Jaalle Siad spoke at length about the difficulties which confronted the Revolution in establishing the National University, a feat much discouraged by colonialists who argued that such an institution could never take off to fruition. We, however, de-



cided to establish the National University at all costs taking into consideration our abilities and the confidence of our people. He also touched on the Revolution's mass education policy and its achievements in this field.

Addressing the new graduates, the President pointed out that «Education is meaningless if it is not of practical value to your society».

«Somalia pursues a clear policy to work towards the interests of its people and their development guided by the socialist system of socio-economic development», Jaalle Siad noted, and added that we have chosen the Socialist system for the interest of our people to overcome the difficult circumstances that have faced our people and hence to attain socio-politico-economic development in the shortest possible time.

He described the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party as an organ whose aspira-

tions is geared towards the socio-politico-economic development of the SDR and the safeguarding of the Nation's unity.

The Somali Revolution will not, in any way, divert from the path it chose to follow since its birth in 1969 adding that everyone will be treated according to his good or bad performances and activities.

«We must get rid off and wipe out the very few corrupt elements who are bent on propagating false propaganda within our society pretending they were efficient and informative sources» the President stressed.

Attending the graduation ceremony were SDR Vice-Presidents, Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah and Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor, Ministers, Bureau chairmen, SRSP central committee members, university professors and other high-ranking government officials

The Ideology Bureau

Chairman briefs the Press

The chairman of the SR-SP Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Aden Sheikh in an interview with reporters on 26th July in Mogadishu, said, «having been left to cope with the problems of colonial legacy Africa must find a way of solving its disputes which have created a pretext for foreign intervention in the continent».

Jaalle Mohamed was a member of the President's delegation to the 15th OAU Summit in Khartoum. He said that the big powers have directly intervened in African Affairs in pursuance of their own global strategic interests by exploiting local disputes between African States and cited the Russians and East European States intervention in the Horn of Africa Region.

«This new intervention has tempted the ex-colonial powers to aspire to bring the continent back to colonial domination,» he said. He pointed to the fact that the root cause of the problems of the Continent lies in the colonial partition of Africa in which boundaries were drawn on paper without consideration to ethnic and geographic realities.

Jaalle Mohamed said that the Conference has underscored the fact that Africa must assume the responsibility for its own defence and security.

He went on to say that because of the tough discussions involved, the conference, took a longer time to wind up during which time

the African Heads of States and governments had a chance of exchanging views on African Affairs and interests.

On the OAU discussions of the Horn of African issue, he said, a Good Offices Committee was formed by the OAU in 1973 on understanding the grave situation of the Horn of Africa and the dispute between Somalia and Ethiopia over the recognition of the rights to self determination of the peoples colonized and oppressed by Abyssinia, in an effort to find a lasting and just solution to the problem.

«The Somali Revolution has, since the establishment of the committee, worked much towards assisting in the solution of the problem but, the committee made no headway due to the intransigence of Abyssinia and its endeavour to contain under its empire people struggling for their liberation», he pointed out.

The Ideology Bureau chairman stressed that Abyssinia, in every way, is colonizing people who are struggling for their liberation and referred to words of Bevin, an ex-British Foreign Secretary, who said that Abyssinia should decolonize the territories under its colonialism.

He told the reporters that the struggle of those peoples has been going on for a long time and charged that Abyssinia is responsible for the deterioration of the situation in the Horn by denying. Those people

their rights to self determination.

«Abyssinia reduced the whole issue during the Libreville meeting of the eight Foreign Ministers of the countries constituting the OAU Good Offices Committee, to a border dispute between Somalia and Abyssinia thus camouflaging the real issue which is in essence colonialism and the Western Somalis under its colonialism» Jaalle Mohamed Siad.

He said that the Summit Conference, after much discussion and taking note of the gravity of the Horn Africa problem and the Western Somali issue in particular, has proposed that the armies of Somali and Abyssinia should withdraw 5KMs from the both sides of the de-facto boundary between the two countries, the cessation of hostilities between them and the continuation of the mediation efforts of the Eight Nation Good Offices Committee in order to bring about lasting and just solution to the problem.

He noted that the Heads of States of the OAU mediation Committee had never had the opportunity to meet on the issue.

Commenting on the Eritrean problem he said it was not included in the Agenda of the Summit even though fierce battle were though fierce battle were Venue. He called on African States to have courage to address themselves to the Eritrean issue.

HEEGAN APPEARS

The first issue of weekly English Newspaper published by the Ministry of Information and National Guidance appeared on the 17th of July.

The publication of Heegan (Vigilance) is connected with the efforts being made to advance Somali Journalism. It addresses itself to the current Political cultural and economic affairs of the Somali nation in addition to a variety of other features.

It follows the increasing-

ly felt need for an English weekly for Sometime. Heegan emerged as a result of hard efforts and decisions reached in discussions within the highest organs of the state with regards to improve effectiveness of Somalia's Information Media.

The Newspaper includes a weekly round-up of home News and gives a clear picture of the realities of the Horn of African situation

Heegan Welcomes suggestion and Comments from its prospective readership.

Allegations Refuted

At the session of the OAU summit on the 13th July, Somalia replied to Ethiopian charges that Somalia had violated Ethiopian territory. Jaalle Hussein Abdukadir Kaasim, Minister of Mineral and water Resources speaking for the Government emphatically asserted that Somalia has not violated Ethiopian territory, and that the Ethiopian accusations were merely a pretext for aggression on the SDR by the Addis Ababa regime.

«It is, on the contrary, Ethiopian military planes that commit incessant acts of aggression against the Somali Democratic Republic», he said «violating our air space and carrying out air strikes against civilian centres in our country». The Minister gave examples of recent air strikes on Hargeisa and other towns and villages in the Republic, including the latest attack on July 13 on Abdulkadir Village.

Jaalle Hussein underlined that the nature of the conflict in the Horn of Africa region was one between a colonial regime and colonized peoples, and that it was not only the Western Somali people who were struggling to liberate themselves from Ethiopian oppression, but also the Eritrean, Tigre, Affar and Abbo peoples. Replying to further charges made by the Ethiopian Foreign Minister when making his country's statement to the Heads of State meeting, that Somalia had called in Foreign powers to its aid, Jaalle Hussein said it was astounding to hear such accusations from a regime which has employed foreign forces from the Caribbean to Eastern Europe to assist it.. between seventeen and twenty seven thousand Cuban troops are presently involved in the inhuman massacre of innocent civilians in Western Somalia at the behest of the colonial Ethiopian regime» he said.

Medals Awarded

Vice-President and Assistant General Secretary of the Party, Jaalle Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor accompanied by the Chairman for Party Financial Bureau, Colonel Osman Mohamed Jelle and Jaalle Col. Abdukadir Haji Mohamed, Chairman for party organisation and mobilization Bureau made a one day visit 18th-19th July to Baldoa, Bay Region.

The Bay region has been awarded a bronze medal by the Government for commendable action in defence of the Revolution.

Presenting the award at Baldoa, Jaalle Ismail expressed appreciation to the people of the region for the part they had played in preserving national unity in the face of the abortive Coup of April 9th. He also awarded bronze medals, certificates of honour, and promotions to individuals of the Bay region who, he said, had played significant roles in the attempted coup. He praised the inhabitants of Bay region for their Revolutionary spirit and effective contribution in the defence of the Revolution the preservation of the national unity and the fight against reactionary and anti-revolution elements. He said that the Revolution will reward anyone who assists in the consolidation and defence of the national sovereignty and unity, and urged the Somali people to be vigilant to the defence of their interests and country. Jaalle Ismail condemned the instigators of the abortive coup of April 9th.

On Non-Alignment and OAU Resolutions

The need for common OAU strategy before the meeting of non-aligned nations in Belgrade was emphasised by the Somali foreign Minister Abdirahman Jama Barre in the course of the OAU foreign Minister's debate on non-alignment in Khartoum.

He stressed the OAU's duty to protect the independence of member countries of the non-aligned community and said that some countries were not fit to belong to the non-aligned movement and should be isolated.

It was unfortunate, he said, that some members of the non-aligned groups of nations had changed themselves into machines used by big powers and cited in particular the Caribbean Island of Cuba, which, he said, was wholly serving the interests of a big power, and therefore grossly violating the tenets and spirit of the movement. «Cuba's actions constitutes a disgrace to the whole Movement,» he said.

«I believe that some countries are not fit to stay in the Movement» he said.

On July 28, Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre addressed non-aligned Ministerial conference in Belgrade.

He reviewed the vital contributions the non-aligned movement has made in the world arena: it has contributed to easing cold war tensions to the initiation of positive steps towards disarmament, towards development (The New Economic Order), also towards easing particular tensions and conflicts such as

those in the middle East. Jaalle Abdirahman emphasised that the non-aligned movement has paid greater attention and achieved greater success in the struggles against colonialism, racism, zionism and hegemony.

The minister pointed to the current dangers in Africa posed by foreign military intervention, particularly that of the Soviet Union and its surrogate Cuba. Among the points he raised and argued at the conference included: serious re-examination of the position of any state which has deliberately violated the non-aligned principles and effective appropriate steps accordingly taken against it; non-alignment to rededicate itself to the fundamental principles, ideas and objectives which enshrine the sum total of the aspiration of the non-aligned nations; condemnation of all acts of foreign interference in all its forms and manifestations; immediate withdrawal of all extra-African military forces from African soil; Rejection of all attempts to draw the non-aligned states into a military alliances with the super powers and their respective blocs. Jaalle Abdirahman, SDR foreign Minister urged the conference to denounce colonialism, racism, zionism, hegemonism and all acts aimed at re-imposing domination and oppression against our peoples.

A common African strategy to consolidate the non-aligned movement and a resolution against foreign military intervention in Africa were adopted at the recent OAU meeting in Khartoum, he recalled.

The Somali delegation at

Belgrade together with several other delegations called for next years non-aligned summit scheduled to be held in Havana, Cuba, to be shifted elsewhere or postponed

The 15th OAU summit adopted important resolutions at the closing of the 5-days meeting on the 22nd of July in Khartoum. Conference Chairman President Nimeiry hailed the success of the summit. Togo Foreign Minister was elected new secretary General of the OAU.

The resolutions which were adopted, condemned foreign military bases and pacts with extra-African powers; pledged to pursue the struggle for total liberation of all African peoples as a means of ending all forms of domination; called for a common African strategy to consolidate the non-aligned movement; strongly condemned all foreign interference in internal affairs of the African continent; called for the reactivation of the OAU Commission to consider the establishment of an inter African military force; called for a strengthening of Afro Arab co-operation and a plea to Arab sister states to increase economic support for the continents development; reaffirmed support for Egypt, Arab front line states and the palestinian peoples for the restoration of their rights and the recovery of occupied territories, and condemned Israeli expansionism; reaffirmed support for Namibian liberation under SWAPO leadership; condemned military build-up of South Africa, and its repeated aggression against neighbouring states; reaffirmed support for the Patriotic front of Zimbabwe while maintaining that other political groups should be included in an all-party con-

ference; pledged increased financial, material and political support for intensification of armed struggle inside South Africa; continued sanctions against the Salisbury and Pre-

toria regimes and increased support for Front line states; to petition to the UN Security Council to consider mandatory decisions to prohibit South Africa from achieving nuclear

weapon capability; appeal to member states to settle disputes through African organs.

The next Assembly of the OAU will be held in Monrovia in 1979.

A new polytechnical institute

A ceremony was held at the education Ministry Headquarters on 23rd July to mark the handing over of the newly built Polytechnical Institute and the departure of the Korean Construction Teams who put up the Institute.

The ceremony was attended by the Minister of Education J/le Aden Mohamed Ali, the Korean Ambassador in Mogadishu Comrade Han Bong Chol and other Somali and Korean officials.

Speaking on the occasion, the Minister noted the importance of the Institute to the future technical progress of the country and its people and said that the Somali government and people are very grateful to the Korean government for its assistance in the construction of the Institute.

He said that it would be a positive contribution to the growing ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

J/le Aden expressed thanks to the government and people of Korea under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Korean technical teams in particular.

He conferred certificates of honor to the Korean and Somali technical teams who took part in the construction of the Institute.

The Korean Ambassador, Comrade Han Bong Chol in speech on the occasion talked about the growing ties of cooperation and friendship between the two countries and said, that the construction of the Institute is clear indica-



tion of increasing cooperation between the two peoples under their respective guidance of Jaalle Siad and Comrade Kim Il Sung.

He said that the Korean people is very happy with the progress attained by the Somali people in its struggle for national Unity and development.

The Ambassador noted the struggle of his own people for national construction, the building of Socialism and their fight against Imperialism.

The polytechnical Institute was officially inaugurated by the President J/le Siad on July 1st and would accommodate about 2000 students.

Islamic league official

Mr. Ibrahim O. Ismail, the Islamic league Director of Budget Department concluded a 7-days visit to the Somali Democratic Republic on 27th July.

Briefing newsmen upon arrival on the purpose of his visit, he said his mission was to promote SDR and Islamic League relations and solidarity. He disclosed that the Islamic League will extend US dollars 700,000 assistance to the Somali Revolutionary Youth Centres and the Refugee Camps of the people who

have fled from Ethiopian colonial oppression.

During his stay in Somalia Mr. Ismail met Somali officials. He also visited the Revolutionary Youth Centres of Lafole and Afgoi and refugee camps in Hargeisa.

The Islamic League Official spoke to reporters shortly before his departure and said he would brief the Islamic League Headquarters in Jeddah on his experience in Somalia and the conditions of the Western Somali Refugees.

ART & CULTURE



The writer's role in the society

By Abdi Yusuf Riyale

Since the inception of the Revolution on 21 October 1969, the Somali people have made remarkable achievements in all the aspects of life. The overall effects of these achievements, and particularly the developments in the field of culture, notably after the writing of the Somali language, has enthused the Somali people to take to an unprecedented practice of writing. This has in its turn contributed to the revival and improvement of the Somali culture.

Writing is of significant importance to the people, since it is through writing that all the relationships in the society can be clearly introduced, relations that pertain to economy, politics, social and behaviour. Needless to stress the primary and essential task of writing as a means of communication. The introduction of the written script did not come about easily as many may think, nor has its development been an easy process. Every writing necessarily depicts the objective reality that prevails in the society and the transformational processes it has passed through. It is a true measure rod to the historical stage of the society and its level of social development.

Now, getting down to the core of the matter, that is the essence and objective of writing, it is pertinent to ask what is the relationship bet-



ween writing and the society? What is the character of the writer? These are questions that have demanded adequate answers for a very long time, but at the present historical epoch, the answer to these questions take a different meaning owing to the emergence of two social world systems different in their philosophical, economical, political and social bearings. Two systems that are entirely opposed to each other and antagonistic in their outlook. It is, therefore, necessary that in order one may give the correct answer to the foregoing questions to have a clear and true understanding of the world situation, the correlation of forces and the specific conditions in each

country, a fact that can best be reached through a deep analysis guided by scientific perspective, since we naturally know that different approaches to the same problem or question do give different answers.

Many people who are thought to be both well learned and experienced do believe that a writer always takes a neutral position as regards the conflicts between the different classes in the society. They are of the idea that the definite social relations does not have any impact upon the works of a writer. Likewise, they hold that the writer is not at all bothered to express the interest of a particular

class but essentially depicts the prevailing reality in the society from a neutral and independent stand. And therefore no blame is attributable to the writer if his/her works win the likes of same individuals in the society and the dislikes of others.

The faultiness of this idea lies in the fact that it takes account of the individual alone ignoring at the same time that the works of every writer has per se a class nature depending ofcourse upon the existing social relations in the society. Citing an example in this, there are some writers who, when dealing with political, economic and social matters in the society confine themselves to embracing the existing problems and difficulties, particularly when dealing with the developing countries, they always mention these countries' economic and social backwardness, without at all mentioning anything about the underlying reasons for this and the impeding factors along the way to its proper solution. Those, of such writers, who try to to be more sincere with themselves do claim that the main obstacle that hinders the advancement of the developing countries lies in their low level of education and poor technology, putting, at the same time much of the blame on the people of these countries who they allege do not show any enthusiasm for hard work and more production. Therefore, they subsequently recommend that in order to overcome this backwardness the developing countries ought to improve their educational standards and get more technicians. It is irrefutable that to improve the educational standard of a society enhances its progress, but the adequate question is whether it is alone sufficient

enough to solve the fundamental problem of backwardness in the societies of the developing countries. We may even go little further and ask whether the high level attained by certain developed countries in the field of science and technology have been able to solve their basic problems. The answer is obviously, no. The truth which is testified and supported by the progress of history shows that the socio-economic backwardness of the developing countries is due to the long periods of colonialisation which these countries were subjected to. Backwardness in these countries is not the curse of God, but primarily legacy of the colonial yoke that exploited, oppressed and practised all forms of dehumanisation upon the peoples of these countries in order to perpetuate its domination. It becomes, therefore, clear that the primary condition for development is for these countries to radically change the social relations inherited from colonialism and to embark upon the path of progress and which in essence should be anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-capitalism. That is the path that guarantees the abolition of all forms of exploitation and the establishment of a new more advanced form of social relations.

With this briefs and pertinent remarks, we can deal with the afore said questions the relationship between the writers work and the society, and the characteristic nature of the writer.

There is no doubt that the individual is a part of the society. The society in its turn has policies that govern its economical, political, social, and cultural life. These policies are naturally determined by the

social relations prevalent in the society, and which objectively place the individuals at certain position. That means that every individual in the society is to a certain degree effected the social relations in the country.

It has also to be borne in mind when tackling such a complicated topic as the role of the writer in the developing countries, that it has to be done within the context of the present international situation where two conflicting world systems are at logger heads with each other exerting a great influence on all the activities of the human race in our planet. Coming to those societies with crystallised class distinctions, we can easily observe that they comprise of two antagonistic classes. The exploiter and the exploited class, the oppressor and the oppressed one. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat. distinct classes are engaged in a continual fierce struggle against each other in all aspects of life ideological, economical political and social spheres.

The bourgeoisie is fully committed to the perpetuation of its exploitation of the working peoples where as the latter is unequivocally determined to free itself from the fetters of exploitation and oppression and to establish a liberated new society. History has amply shown that victory is on the side of the working-people. The truth of this conviction lies in the laws that govern the social development of mankind, and which is manifested by the characteristic features of the contemporary era, where the trend of history is becoming more and more shaped by the forces of liberation, democracy, and social progress and simultaneously witnessing the crisis and the gradual

decay of the forces of reaction.

In the light of this fact, would it be possible for any individual in such a society to speak about being neutral or independent of the relations that govern the different class positions in such a society?

Can any one any longer air an idea that could be equally welcome by the rival classes, so much so when it deals with vital matters as economy, politics or social affairs. As I have already said in the beginning the answer to all these questions will never be the same, because it will be viewed from different angles and through different perspectives, but let me deal with it in brief.

It is indisputable that in class society, every individual is attached to the class one belongs and consequently defends its interests. But that does not at all rule out that there are individuals who may rise against their own class. The important thing, however, is not the individual allegiance as much as it is the general interests, aims, and objec-

tives each class is fighting for. It therefore, follows from this that every individual is consciously or unconsciously bound to take a class stand in all his activities, thoughts, and behaviour.

The writer in such a society can never profess to take an independent stand. The fallacy of this professy has been exposed by history. Every writer takes a class position and will continue to do so until the social order undergoes a total and radical transformation that renders all forms of exploitation and coercion a matter of the past. We say because in a class society all forms of writing no matter whether the theme being dealt with its politics, economic culture or philosophy, uphold and defend the interests of a particular class. But one should never be under the wrong impression as to think that the writer's mission is only needed and essential in a class society only. Far from it, even after the establishment of a socialist society, contradictions are not comple-

tely got rid off. Certain contradictions still persist to remain like those between science and technology, the town and the countryside, mental work and manual labour etc. although these are non-antagonistic contradictions owing to the absence of conflicting interests of social classes in the socialist society.

Revolutionary writing, besides, dealing with current problems also foretells the contradictions likely to arise in the society during its on-ward evolution and suggests the appropriate ways and means of overcoming them.

Writing whether in form or essence is as complex and intricate as the social structure and the opposed interests in the society it deals with, but we can safely say that every writers work, particularly in the present historical epoch, is either in the service of the working peoples interests or, on the other hand, it stands with the bourgeois class which is bent on the exploitation of the working masses.



THE OVERVIEW OF THE THEATRICAL PLAY

“HISTORY NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN,,

Farewell to a sorrowful state
Hail to a new happy beginning.
It is our art dusting itself up—it is our national theater which in July this year drew up the curtain to show its drama entitled, «History not to be forgotten,» acted by Waberi artistes.

For a long time, now the educated theatre goes expressed their disquiet with the

quality of our plays. They were saddened by the perennial backwardness of our plays dominated as these were dominated by romanticised love affairs which were the normal recipe of our script writers. The educated theatrical goes felt the urgent need for plays which will educate the public in combatting the sorry legacy of colonial neglect and backwardness. Such plays certain-

ly will help us in the awfully needed transition from traditionally inherited harmful behaviours and normative values which act as brake on the process of social development.

The apparent backwardness of our theatre is interpreted by some people to be attributable to its immaturity, tied as this is to the level of social development doubtlessly this is

one factor to be taken into account in the overall assessment of our art, but the truth is that it is not the only factor.

The history of our theatre amply goes to prove the firm conviction that a host of other factors, by and large, contribute to our theatrical backwardness. Surprisingly it emerges that the poor quality of our plays has a temporal sequence, that is the earlier the play is produced the more probable is its better quality. This is an absolute negation of the logical expectation that quality will improve with the passage of time.

At the time of colonial subjugation the theatre honestly carried out its task of inspiring the people to relentlessly fight against colonial oppression. Conversely it lent great value to the spirit of freedom which beat in the heart of every patriotic person. In the period of the corrupt neo-colonial regimes the Somali theatre fully exposed the rottenness of the maladministrative practices of then ruling elite, consequently plays engendered a revolutionary spirit. Apart from those exclusively political tasks, the theatre filled the role of tirelessly combatting the anti-social normative values



subsisting in the society. The artistic form of conceptual portrayal was an honest and comprehensive one.

Be that as it is, in this era of revolutionary upsurge our theatre fell short of its social responsibilities and lagged behind in its bounden duty of disseminating revolutionary ideas. In actual fact it missed its role of contributing to the consolidation of a revolutionary political spirit in the minds of the masses.

Accordingly it was ill-fitted to cope with the harmful and traditional ideas and practices inherited from the preceding socio-economic formations which existed in the colonial and neo-colonial era.

The displeasure for our theatre weighed heavily on me the night of 5th July when I joined the rest of the audience to see the new play, «History not to be forgotten». It never crossed my mind that I will witness a play to gladden my heart bearing in mind the countless plays formerly displayed. I thought this one will go the same way, that, is a day as good as lost. However with this new play my prediction was immediately disproved and I was chastised and thrown into a new happy mood where pessimism for our theatre receded into the background. A new melodramatic phase affording confidence in our future art and artists and casting everboard the lack of confidence made itself felt.

The plot of the play is not new to our theatre; but the technical form of its expression is what is new, and thereby distinguishes it from plays formerly acted. The plot is a bird's eyeview of the Somali nation's struggle in the various historical periods. Of course this topic has been touched on a number of times but one really feels that the artistic expression of the play's multidimensionality has not been fully brought out.

«History not to be forgot-



ten» was the first silent drama staged by our theatre, and this is the linchpin of its contribution to our theatrical production. It's artistic appearance in terms of form reminded us of the heights which our theatre earlier attained.

When the curtain is immediately drawn the unanticipated scene of a musical group sitting single file, equipped with all their musical instruments is seen. Written musical notes and a leading conductor is a new innovative method this play adds to our theatrical scene.

Apparently a healthy borrowing from the rich store of world art is noticeable here. After several meaningful musical beats the plot of the play unfolds.

It is a prosperous community, peacefully settled in its own land and happily engrossed in festivities for its good fortune. But then, as life is a veritable witness the happiness cannot be allowed to flow uninterrupted. Who disturbed and disrupted it!?

An enemy broke in and the peace was made to totter, and the prosperity to fade. A summon for help and preparations to thwart the enemy starts, but the first battles end in defeat. This defeat is symbolised by a man tied firmly in five places lying at the furthest corner of the stage.

A bitter struggle ensues and the two contending forces are the community army who is fighting to force the shackled man and the invading enemy who is trying to keep him a prisoner. The battles continue and the colonial shackles one by one are untied. With the untying of each, madly jubilant festivities ensue. Even-

ally only two shackles remain but the battles for liberation continues unabated.

To an extent the plot is one of suspense, the actors are silent and that heightens the audience's interest and imagination, the explanation of the plot by the audience is aided by pictures behind the scene, which correspond with every act emerging.

The new contributions of the play «History not to be forgotten» to our theatre can be summarised below as the following:

1. The introductory music with its scientific orientation and self-explanatory tendencies.
 2. The silent form of the actors.
 3. The advantage to which every spot of the theatre is put to.
 4. The harmonised atmosphere or the general organisational form of the play with its exemplary successful imagination. By this is meant to bring out the cooperative and complementary roles of the plot, music, lightening, decor and the pictures emerging from behind the scene. In spite of the fact that all these did not harmonically correspond 100% nonetheless we can categorically state that a great success was scored in this regard.
 5. Deserving notice is that the level of acting was of high and inimitable standard. Warner artists who acted in this play showed world standards, and impressive acting value goes to the hero of the plot who doubtlessly will inspire patriots the world over.
- All points afore-mentioned

sowed the seeds of Patriotic enthusiasm in the audience and precious appreciation unequalled by the cheap romanticised love plays hitherto staged, thereby disproving the contention that nothing but a love story could attract such an audience. The warm cheering and the enthusiasm welcoming that play act a veritable witness that the quality of the theatre as a place of songs, peoples, tastes. Accordingly a more qualitative play attracts a greater public appreciation. The children brought up in love and mythological oriented plays, and who thus regarded the theatre as a place of songs and laughter bereft of wisdom, might not have captured the meaning pregnant in the play in the first nights of display, inasmuch as they missed the jocular but meaningless talk and cheap but emotionally moving theatre as a place of songs left with the imprint of a lasting name and destiny which left were to us all by a valuable play honestly reflecting the times we live in.

The praises showered on this new play should not be taken to mean that it is fault free. In point of fact there are certain drawbacks which the play suffers of. Major amongst these, is the fact that the finale of the play seems to be hastily compiled and coordinated, evincing therefore an imbalance vis-a-vis its other parts.

The other factor underlying the play's weakness is the slowness of the story's unfolding and its undue lengthiness as regards the vast historical period it has to survey which consequently makes it imperative to reduce it to a mere overview. This is a mistake which besets our historical plays and it stands to reason that in the future this has to be corrected.

Inspite of the fact that the play was meant to commemorate an important occasion, all the same it is arguable that artistically should have been made to deal with one of the facts of the historical struggle of our nation. A more circumspect analysis would have allowed a deeper and more down

to earth and artistically interesting conclusions. This naturally would have heightened the melodramatic effect, and the intensity of the social struggle would have gained momentum there by contributing to the undying interest in the play.

In conclusion one only glad-

ly and warmly welcomes the fruitful strides of Somali theatre, but our nation who is in a period of transition anticipates greater and firmer strides in the future. This progressive development is a historical mission which our theatre, along with the other facts of our social life, ought to measure up to.

(cont'd from Page 4)

relations with the various Party organs, further strengthening of their cordial ties with the other progressive forces like the armed forces, the nomadic population, the intellectuals, the Petty traders etc. Rallying behind the Secretary General's, Jaalle Siad, wise citations, the Party Programme and the principles of the October Revolution, the Social organisations ought to redouble their revolutionary efforts and activities so that the historical tasks facing the Party and the people at this rather critical period of our national struggle are accomplished triumphantly. Under the banner of Scientific Socialism, the

Social organisations must selflessly contribute to the attainment of the aspirations of the people towards independence, national Unity, and social progress.

— The Social organisation should wage a relentless struggle against the unholy alliance between the reactionary forces and the counter-revolutionary engaged in the sabotage and the crushing of the 21st Oct. Revolution.

— They ought to combat all forms of corruption, Tribalism, nepotism and other outmoded values, norms and methods.

— They must display the highest vigilance and awareness, and must protect and promote the achievements of the Revolution.

— They are obliged to rally their forces behind the party, its Programme and the principles of the revolution for the successful creation of a Somali Socialist society in the future.

— They should actively work in the midst of the masses; mobilise them, organise them, link them with the party, so that fulfilment of the Somali people historical objectives are more easily attained.

ten» was the first silent drama staged by our theatre, and this is the linchpin of its contribution to our theatrical production. Its artistic appearance in terms of form reminded us of the heights which our theatre earlier attained.

When the curtain is immediately drawn the unanticipated scene of a musical group sitting single file, equipped with all their musical instruments is seen. Written musical notes and a leading conductor is a new innovative method this play adds to our theatrical scene.

Apparently a healthy borrowing from the rich store of world art is noticeable here. After several meaningful musical beats the plot of the play unfolds.

Is it a prosperous community, peacefully settled in its own land and happily engrossed in festivities for its good fortune. But then, as life is a veritable witness the happiness cannot be allowed to flow uninterrupted. Who disturbed and disrupted it!?

An enemy broke in and the peace was made to totter, and the prosperity to fade. A summons for help and preparations to thwart the enemy starts, but the first battles end in defeat. This defeat is symbolised by a man tied firmly in five places lying at the furthest corner of the stage.

A bitter struggle ensues and the two contending forces are the community army who is fighting to force the shackled man and the invading enemy who is trying to keep him a prisoner. The battles continue and the colonial shackles one by one are untied. With the untying of each, madly jubilant festivities ensue. Eventually

only two shackles remain but the battles for liberation continue unabated.

To an extent the plot is one of suspense, the actors are silent and that heightens the audience's interest and imagination, the explanation of the plot by the audience is aided by pictures behind the scene, which correspond with every act emerging.

The new contributions of the play «History not to be forgotten» to our theatre can be summarised below as the following:

1. The introductory music with its scientific orientation and self-explanatory tendencies.

2. The silent form of the actors.

3. The advantage to which every spot of the theatre is put to.

4. The harmonised atmosphere or the general organisational form of the play with its exemplary successful imagination. By this is meant to bring out the cooperative and complementary roles of the plot, music, lightening, decor and the pictures emerging from behind the scene. In spite of the fact that all these did not harmonically correspond 100% nonetheless we can categorically state that a great success was scored in this regard.

5. Deserving notice is that the level of acting was of high and inimitable standard. Warner artists who acted in this play showed world standards, and impressive acting value goes to the hero of the plot who doubtlessly will inspire patriots the world over.

All points aforementioned

sowed the seeds of Patriotic enthusiasm in the audience and precious appreciation unequalled by the cheap romanticised love plays hitherto staged, thereby disproving the contention that nothing but a love story could attract such an audience. The warm cheering and the enthusiasm welcoming that play act a veritable witness that the quality of the theatre as a place of songs, peoples, tastes. Accordingly a more qualitative play attracts a greater public appreciation. The children brought up in love and mythological oriented plays, and who thus regarded the theatre as a place of songs and laughter bereft of wisdom, might not have captured the meaning pregnant in the play in the first nights of display, inasmuch as they missed the jocular but meaningless talk and cheap but emotionally moving the theatre as a place of songs left with the imprint of a lasting name and destiny which left were to us all by a valuable play honestly reflecting the times we live in.

The praises showered on this new play should not be taken to mean that it is fault free. In point of fact there are certain drawbacks which the play suffers of. Major amongst these, is the fact that the finale of the play seems to be hastily compiled and coordinated, evincing therefore an imbalance vis-a-vis its other parts.

The other factor underlying the play's weakness is the slowness of the story's unfolding and its undue lengthiness as regards the vast historical period it has to survey which consequently makes it imperative to reduce it to a mere overview. This is a mistake which besets our historical plays and it stands to reason that in the future this has to be corrected.

Inspite of the fact that the play was meant to commemorate an important occasion, all the same it is arguable that artistically should have been made to deal with one of the facts of the historical struggle of our nation. A more circum-spect analysis would have allowed a deeper and more down

to earth and artistically interesting conclusions. This naturally would have heightened the melodramatic effect, and the intensity of the social struggle would have gained momentum there by contributing to the undying interest in the play.

In conclusion one only glad-

ly and warmly welcomes the fruitful strides of Somali theatre, but our nation who is in a period of transition anticipates greater and firmer strides in the future. This progressive development is a historical mission which our theatre, along with the other facts of our social life, ought to measure up to.

(cont'd from Page 4)

relations with the various Party organs, further strengthening of their cordial ties with the other progressive forces like the armed forces, the nomadic population, the intellectuals, the Petty traders etc. Rallying behind the Secretary General's, Jaalle Siad, wise citations, the Party Programme and the principles of the October Revolution, the Social organisations ought to redouble their revolutionary efforts and activities so that the historical tasks facing the Party and the people at this rather critical period of our national struggle are accomplished triumphantly. Under the banner of Scientific Socialism, the

Social organisations must selflessly contribute to the attainment of the aspirations of the people towards independence, national Unity, and social progress.

— The Social organisation should wage a relentless struggle against the unholy alliance between the reactionary forces and the counter-revolutionary engaged in the sabotage and the crushing of the 21st Oct. Revolution.

— They ought to combat all forms of corruption, Tribalism, nepotism and other outmoded values, norms and methods.

— They must display the highest vigilance and awareness, and must protect and promote the achievements of the Revolution.

— They are obliged to rally their forces behind the party, its Programme and the principles of the revolution for the successful creation of a Somali Socialist society in the future.

— They should actively work in the midst of the masses; mobilise them, organise them, link them with the party, so that fulfilment of the Somali people historical objectives are more easily attained.



THEORITICAL ISSUES

The class struggle as a motive force of Social development

By Mohamoud Abdi Ali

Social development is such a pervasive and on going process that social thinkers have to lay down the factors that contribute to it. Obviously social development is a such complicated and multi-sided reality that the sources underlying its ever present vitality can only be as variegated and numerous as is made necessary by a process of so gigantic proportions. In this article the role of the class struggle in the forward push of society will be attempted. The import of why amplification on this issue is a practical point is imputable to the undoubted fact that certain philosophers and social scientists of a bourgeois inclination castigate and denigrate class struggle in such a way as to vividly portray it as an anti — thesis to healthy social development. Class struggle, and its advocacy, takes in the minds of those social scientists, a cataclysmic and catastrophic dimensions negating almost all the fruits which human civilisation and culture so painfully acquired throughout a long span of man's history. Accordingly these bourgeois social scientists, amongst whom K. Popper, a British social scientist, features prominently take the point of view that instead of an ungoing class struggle, with its natural tendency of the anarchic destruction of what is now available, it is safer to commit oneself to the present

status quo. The present of course is nothing but the monopoly state capitalist order, with its avaricious multinationals, and the dominant subservient relationships linking up the centre and periphery in an unbreakable neo-colonial straitjacket of dependency of course this neo-colonial straitjacketing of dependency could in the course of time, through energetic internal and external economic restructuring be avoided by undergoing a national democratic and socialist phases of transformation. Be as it is, theoreticians of K. Poppers ilk pour cold water on socialism, seeing it as a totalitarian system negating man's right to freedom, and therefore close the door to an objective option which continuously, and increasingly offers itself as the alternative to the socio-economic impasse confronting third world countries. All the same let us delve into the interesting topic of class struggle contributing to human societies onward march into inevitable progress to communism and the attainment of overall plenitude and abundance.

Bourgeois historians during restoration in France, such as Francois Guizot, Thierry, Mignet, and a host of others admitted the continuity of class struggle in human society, and the beneficial by products of such struggle between estates as they called it. The

analytical conceptualisation of the restoration went a step ahead compared to that of French enlightenment, who saw history as nothing but the undisturbed unfolding of reason looked up in struggle with ignorance. But enlightenment, in its rationalist spectrum was an advance over Hegel who reduced history to the activity of the pure spirit, in the evolution of the absolute idea which swaggers before us as the creator of everything, but shows its illegitimate existence in being fatherless, by having no source. As it is bourgeois theoreticians though sometimes intuitively or by virtue of intellectual honesty arrive at an approximation to the truth, nonetheless in the last stage shy away from uttering the whole truth. This was the case with these french social scientists who representing the bourgeoisie come to however tried to fabricate theoretical substantiation for an eternal, immutable and inexorable sway of capitalist social relations. For Guizot Capitalism constituted the terminus, the end of the road for human civilisation, from now on mankind has to endure to live with capitalism, K. Marx pungently and succinctly has to state, «Thus there has been history, but there is no longer any. There has been history, since there were institutions of feudalism, and in these institutions of feudalism we find quite different

relations of production from those of bourgeois society which economists try to pass off as natural and, as such, eternal».

HOW THE CLASS STRUGGLE FAVOURS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

On what grounds could class struggle be said to favour social development? As is unequivocally stated in the communist manifesto, ever since the decay of the primitive communal society, the history of human society has been that of class struggle: Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes». Crux of the whole matter is underlined by the italicised parts in the nature of things class struggle consciously organised has to end up in the revolutionary transformation of the society as is attested to by the French, and American bourgeois revolutions of 1789, and 1776 respectively, and by the socialist and national democratic revolutions of this century. Notwithstanding this more or less beneficial aspects of the revolution, resulting from the dialectics of the class struggle, is the second polarity of the struggle and that is the common ruin emanating from the integral weakness of the revolutionary process. The continuous uprisings of the oppressed classes, which were defeated because of ill organisation, and which

there by gave a new lease of life to an abominable system of exploitation and human degradation categorically prove Marx's wisdom.

Addressing ourselves to class struggle's healthy influence on social development draws its undiluted dynamics from the that, «Classes as large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and consequently, by the dimensions of the share of the social wealth of which they dispose of the mode of acquiring it» play a prominent part in the social structure which defines and determines the direction, scope and tendency of social development. Classes are the most significant criterion by which the existing social conflicts could be assessed, and their general orientation judged. Major historical events are played out by these large groups of people which comprise classes, and the good and the bad which the involved millions mobilised by the tasks which history bases to be settled ultimately rebound on the historical necessity driving those social forces to come into the historical scene. Class struggles do not arise simply of their own but underlying them is genuine historical tasks awaiting to be finally and ultimately resolved. And inspiring all the grand movements of antiquity, as well as the ones now unfolding is the singular and successful carrying out of the particular interests of this or that class interest. In terms

of global human interest the most progressive class's interest usually coincides with the common interests of human society i.e. the French revolution of 1789 as the correlation of class forces hitherto, epitomised the dreams of mankind. However in the prevailing conditions of today a bourgeois revolution would not have such great magnitude and advantageous results. But how does the class struggle deepen and enrich the ongoing process of self-developing human reality.

The basic ingredients to socio-economic development, as engendered by the class struggle emanates from the antagonistic nature of social development in class divided society. In his, a contribution to the critique of Political Economy K. Marx states, «At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of the society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or what is but a legal expression for the something — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the whole immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. By this is meant that productive forces, constituting the more dynamic variable of the mode of production, vis-vis class production relation, have a tendency of outpacing and outstripping the latter by virtue of this a social revolution has to ensue to establish and synchronise the new productive forces with appropriate production relations. To the extent that the

old production relations represent a class interest, in capitalist society the bourgeoisie, the new production relations to be set up can only be championed, and are in the interest of the working class. This is the case inasmuch as in capitalist society there are two basic classes the bourgeoisie and the working class, who inevitably contend for political power.

The sharpening of contradictions within the capitalist system, in terms of the increasing socialisation of property through vigorous concentration and centralisation of capital, the breaking up of barriers between countries and their respective economics, and the mutual interdependence (sic) are the sine qua non for a socialist revolution led by a working class party to irreversibly succeed in the long run. The rationale of the social revolution which is born in the womb of the capitalist society springs from the incapacity of the ruling class to find answers for further social development, from the working class's militancy, and its unpreparedness to live in the former framework of oppression and exploitation. The proletariat organised within their vanguard party, and incontestably representing the path of historical necessity are able to rally around them most of the working class strata and other non-exploiting sections lying between it and the bourgeoisie. Needless to say the proletarian task following a successful social revolution is all-rounded constructive. From these on, through socialist transition, the foundations are led for a classless society.

THE DIALECTICS OF CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE THIRD

WORLD COUNTRIES

Undoubtedly general laws of socio-economic processes and phenomena in their objective regularities, are the same the world over. This, invariably affects the nature, and the level of class formation, and class struggle, in all its uniform and universal dimensions. Without casting any doubt as to the general laws impinging on the topic in hand, it is pertinent to note the specificities and peculiarities of a country, or a number of countries. The link between the universal and the particular, and all other categories, and the interconnections between them testifies to the richness of the dialectical method. Third world countries where the intensity of class formation is yet at a low level due to the economic underdevelopment to which they have been subjected to, by long colonial neglect, and the neo-colonial straitjacketing perpetrated by the discriminations of today's international world market necessitate a novel analysis. The strength of the traditional economic order in the form of multifarious communal structures of parcel holding and patriarchal stages in agriculture, and the minimal development of an industrial sector introduces elements whereby the dynamics of the social-class structures take new and uncharted paths of evolution. In the Somali Democratic Republic where over 60% of the population are nomads entails a departure from the ordinary methodological construct with regard to class struggle.

Class struggle in third world context contends with a numerically and qualitatively immature proletarian force which in political consciousness organization by large differs from the prevailing reality in

highly advanced capitalist countries. Consequently theoretical exposition of class struggle has so far enlightened us on this score by holding out the view that it revolves around the issue that there are a complex of intermediary class groupings which transitionally fill up the role of the working class. To elaborate on this the national bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the fledgling proletariat and peasantry, and other nonexploiting & latent bourgeois classes step into the new role of forming a board alliance agreeing on a collective program of militant democratic and an anti-imperialist political objectives through which the shared aspiration of rapid socio-economic development could best be carried out. The militant and anti-imperialist stand of these broad social groupings affords them the tremendously needed social orientation which on a national and international context shapes the variegated socio-political possibilities which enable a newly sovereign country to attain a sure foot in a world where an intense sense struggle is raging between multiple forms of social and class groupings. In addition this social orientation has to encompass a definitive attitude to a choice between the two social systems which are lacked up in conflict in the world arena. In the ever changing scenario of class struggle in its local and international context the social orientation goes through upswings and down swings, affecting the destiny of the social groupings that unite in the broad progressive alliance. The progressive stream and orientation retains its vitality and rationale throughout the decisive evolution of the revolutionary process.

The unity of these progressi-

ve social groupings armed with a world proven & tested progressive ideology preferably a marxist-leninist one is a promising start to deepen and enrich the evolving revolutionary fermentation in society. This fermentation is hastened by certain policies adopted by the revolutionary democratic state such as the priority and encouragement given to the state sector, the invigorated political organisation and the attendant heightening of social consciousness which go a long way to satisfy necessary social transformation to be wrought in a backward society. Besides this, the creation of social organisations mobilising the working class and the toiling masses in general, and the state aid advanced to them particularly with respect to cooperatives, and other economically strategic sectors devolve to the benefit of the working masses. Furthermore an integral aspect of the policy imperatives of the revolutionary state is to seriously weaken and combat the reactionary machinations of the overthrown reactionary classes represented by remnants of the tribal and feudal order, as well as the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, who are in close cooperation with the international Capitalist class with thousands of threads mainly in the economic field.

The resistance to this motley of reactionary classes is a complex and complicated one thus calling for extreme vigilance on the part of the progressive forces inasmuch as these reactionary forces in alignment with expatriate capital continuously conspire to stage

a comeback. What a successful counter-revolutionary comeback means for the progressive alliance can vividly be drawn from the Chilean experience of post 1973 Pinochet's inhuman rule.

The dialectics of class struggle in third world countries is an inexhaustible subject matter which a subsection of an article cannot do full justice to. Anyway the possibilities of its ongoing evolution is an interesting matter which will hold the attention of countless budding scholars. We can only hope that the endless discussions this will entail bear fruitful results which will rebound to the maturing third world global struggles turning on true sovereignty, full socio-economic independence and a social welfare for the too long exploited third world peoples.

The progressive nature of class struggle hinges by and large on the nature of the classes leading that struggle, and the tasks sets for itself. The bearings of social development has from antiquity upto now constituted an ascending line, that is development from the lower to the higher, and ever growing approximation to the grounding of a more just order, where by stages and then more rapidly, as with the help of the scientific and technical revolution to banish the scourges of humanity such as poverty, ignorance and disease from the scene. The rooting out of exploitation of man by man, the assurance of abundance for all, the expansion of man's rights and his realm of freedom, the invoking of a moral order worthy of man's aspirations, and the uprooting of the

dehumanising and deleterious social factors limiting man's accomplishment of his ideals.

In today world the capitalist system shows the unmistakable signs of militating against the full satisfaction of man's social needs. It is characterised by acts such as the burning of excess wheat supplies, the throwing of a apple surpluses and butter into the sea on the grounds that if these excesses find their way into the market the interplay of demand and supply will be such as to reduce prices, and henceforth the level of profits. This acts take on a macabre and insensitive dimension when set against the phenomenal need for food in a world where hunger stalks large areas. Needless to say this inhuman acts impress on our minds the bankruptcy of a system whose *raison d'être* is the maximisation of profit. Conversely this makes all the more imperative for the human society to seriously embark a new course heralding a new age and order. Doubtlessly this new order can only be brought by the class most able to further develop the productive forces, and though this capable of setting up new social relations which measure up to the spirit and requirements of the times in which we live. The working class, whose categorisation is gaining more broad meaning, in alignment with national liberation against imperialism now constitutes the most progressive class, whose interest fully harmonises with those of society at large, and accordingly it alone can take the mantle to liberate human society, from the exploitative system of capitalism.

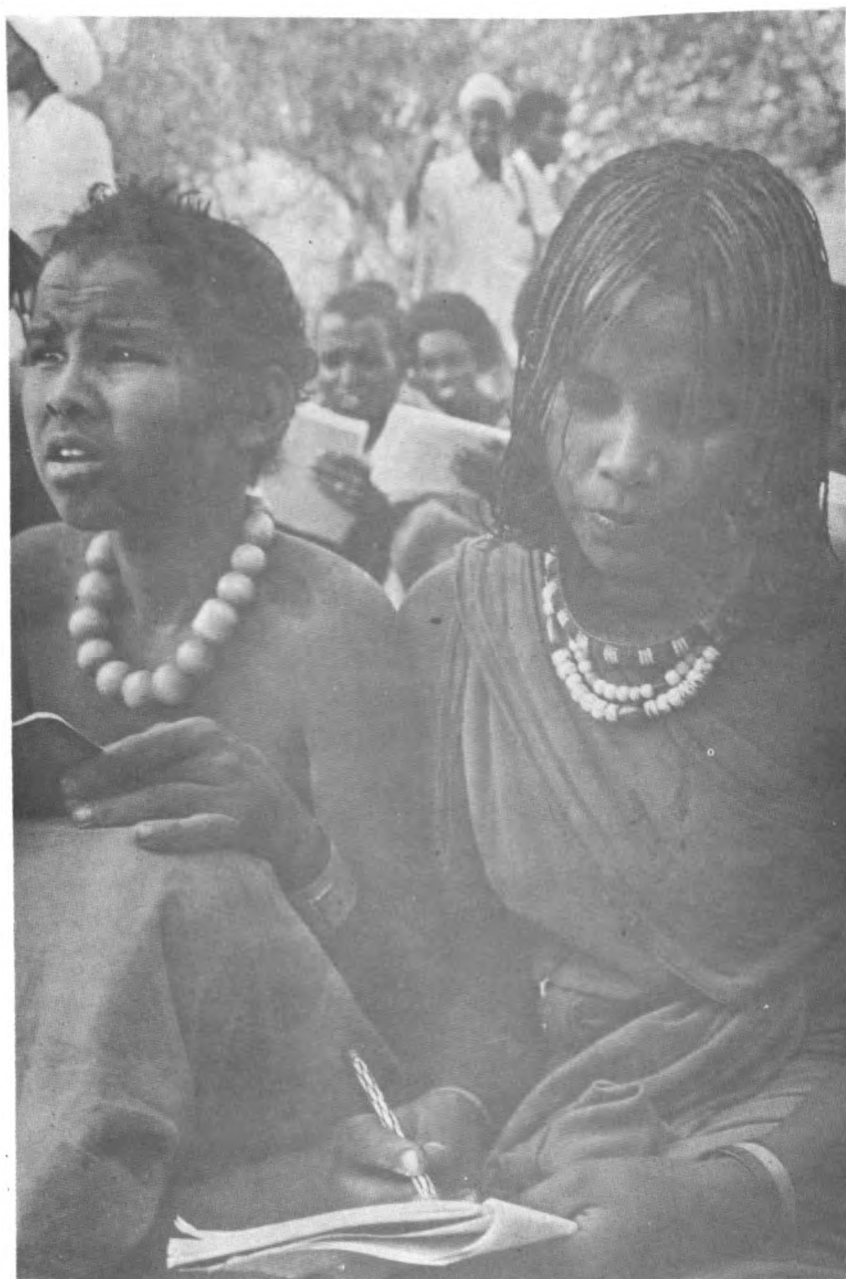
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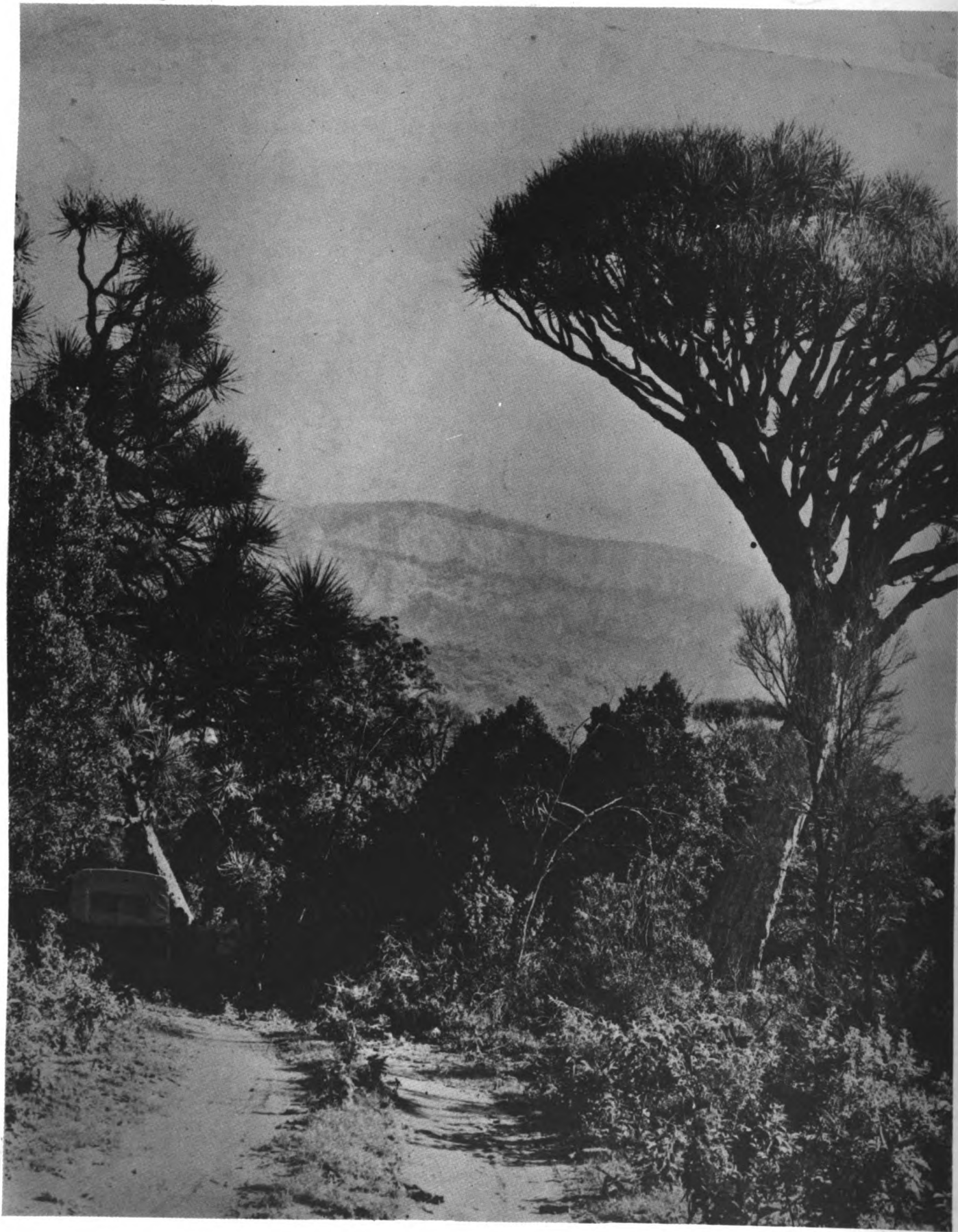
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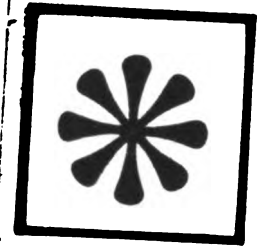
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EDITORIAL

'Camp David, Summit

The great campaign for peace in the Middle East in which President Sadat was engaged and which had caused differences among Arab leaders, reached its toughest and conclusive stage at the Camp David summit. Despite the fact that the Sadat mission is well-meaning, yet the latest authoritative news reports and analysis indicate that the final outcome of the Camp David Summit may not be encouraging.

It seems that the Israeli mission, led by their Prime Minister Menachem Begin, kept insisting upon the following points:

1) For their own security, Israelis have no intention to surrender the Arab territories they have occupied in the 1967 war;

2) Equally, they have no desire to dismantle the settlements and communities they established in the conquered territories;

They are not prepared at all to bring up or discuss the issue of a Palestinian state, let alone the right of Palestinian people to self-determination.

Moreover, the Israelis insisted that the role of the U.S. be limited only to that of bringing the Egyptians and the Israelis to the conference table.

On the other hand, the Egyptian delegation stood firmly on its grounds and continued to request:-

1) Total Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories;

2) Discontinuation of any further Israeli settlements in Arab lands, and the dismantling of the existing settlements;

3) Acceptance by Israel of the creation of a Palestinian State embracing the Western Bank and the GAZA Region;

4) Surrender by Israel of the Eastern side of the town of (Jerusalem).

As regards the role of the U.S. the Egyptians considered it to be necessary and sought the active participation of the U.S. in the formulation of the peace plans and their effective implementation.

As is well-known, the staging of the summit con-

ference and the way the negotiations were conducted signified innovative initiatives in world diplomacy.

The negotiations were made possible between the two parties placed in the U.S. Government and the U. S. President.

The two parties have agreed upon a general framework for the solution of the long-standing Middle East question, a solution which is based on the UN General Assembly resolutions No. 242 and 338.

This general framework provides for an agreement to be signed between Egypt and Israel within three months. That agreement is open to all Arab countries who wish to associate themselves with the peace plans.

Egypt and Israel have agreed on the following points:

1) Egypt and Israel pledge that they will abide by the following principles and resolutions in the agreements to be entered by Israel and its neighbours: Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

2) All those Arab countries who accept the general framework and Israel will entertain normal peaceful relations and, to ensure the achievement of this goal, the two parties pledge to implement the UN resolutions by starting:

- a) Total political recognition,
- b) Discontinuation of all economic pressures,
- c) Guarantee the security of each other's nationals within each one's boundaries.

3) In accordance with this general framework, the parties concerned will discuss about the ways and means to promote common economic development objectives and to strengthen the solidarity and friendship between them.

4) Committees responsible for economic and financial problems will be established.

5) The Government of the USA is invited to participate in the negotiations for the definition and implementation of the agreements.

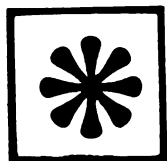
6) The UN security council will be requested to accept the peace settlement plans and to ensure that they will not be violated. The permanent members of the security Council are particularly requested to accept these plans and ensure that their actions and policies will be in conformity with them.

The document has been signed by the Egyptian President, Mr. Anwar Sadat, the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Menachem Begin, and the US President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, as witness.

This general framework that the parties accepted at the Camp David summit after long discussions, did not appeal to some Middle East countries, nevertheless

it is expected that the signatories will firmly maintain it and will endeavour in its effectuation.

The question which now arises is whether it is in the objective interest of the peoples living in the Middle East. It is difficult to give definitive answer yet, but that will be known from the results that the proposed plans will have in the near future. For the time being, we may only hope that they will constitute a new means for the Arab nations to strengthen their solidarity and open a dialogue aiming at re-uniting their forces and efforts and fighting against their many enemies who benefit from their division and their conflicts.



SOMALIA AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Recently, a delegation led by J/le Siad visited Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy. This tour was preceded by other visits to other West European countries. The principal aim of these missions was to improve and strengthen the cooperation which has been existing for a long time between Somalia and these countries.

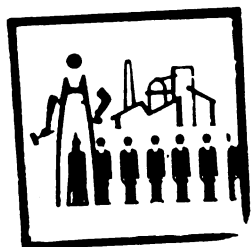
As is well known, all these countries are members of the E.E.C. and have always entertained steady direct and indirect relations with Somalia. We cannot but appreciate the valuable economic assistance which they continue to provide us.

Though things are as simple as this, yet certain quarters and governments tried to give the impression that these visits had other aims than those declared and that Somalia is only interested in obtaining arms. The objectives of both the Somali Government and the Somali nation have a wider scope than those indicated by the slander-mongers.

The Somali government and people are engaged in the economic and social transformation of the society and will not allow other influences to hinder such praise-worthy efforts.

While practicing a policy of non-interference in each others internal affairs, governments and nations are making efforts to ameliorate the atmosphere of cordial understanding and solidarity among them.

Since the advent of the 1969 October Revolution, Somalia has been giving careful attention to these efforts of cooperation and solidarity and the constant exchange of visits is connected with this and we are confident that these visits will have a satisfactory outcome.



POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The strategy of Economic Development

By, Mohamed Abdi Ali

The programme of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party referring to the economic Policy to be pursued lays down an increased Socialist Transformation, and thus commits itself to the strengthening of the material and technical base of our economy. This increased role of the Socialist public sector aids the progressive development of our Society, and furthermore promises us a relatively speedy satisfaction of the ever expanding social needs of our society. However the socialisation of our economy, the improvement and acceleration of its technical material base calls for certain clearcut Policy considerations. For one thing, it necessitates the spelling out of the real and objective laws that operate in the historical period that our society is in. Again it inevitably calls for the singling out of various factors that act as a brake on rapid economic development. Once these points have been theoretically and practically decided upon we need to draw up a strategy that realistically allows for set tasks which are realisable in a fixed period of time. Here the task of planning becomes obvious itself in the Consciousness of almost all policy makers, more so in the case of centrally directed socialist economic systems. More and more the tendency of viewing plans merely as a mechanical process of co-ordinating and increasing the national

output, is being discarded.

In its place, socialist planning which is a living process based on the Party's, short, medium and long term strategies of economic development.

As such planning obeys fundamental party principles, amongst which sectoral & territorial proportionality, sectoral balancing, etc, are some basic ones to adhere to. Democratic Centralism, which lays down a strong centralised management and planning of the economy is harmoniously blended with the democratic initiative of the lower Units of the economic system, such as individual enterprise. Aware of these fundamental prerequisites of socialist planning a simple matter presents itself, and that is how could we integrate it into the level of development of our backward economy. This obviously compels us to further study the specificities and peculiarities of our economic system.

THE SOMALI ECONOMY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.

Of course, there is no Somali economy as such, separate from the world economy. The Somali economy is partly integrated into the world Capitalist system. Partly it is socialist, i.e the State sector, and Partly it is traditional or natural economy. This breakdown of our economy is something which we share with almost all third world Countries but more particularly with other African countries. Be

that as it is, the point which deserves underlining is the role of the traditional sector in our economic life. Thus far, nearly 90%, if not our gross national product, is derived from the natural or traditional economic sector. The problematics of anticipated rapid economic growth in Somalia has to contend with this fact.

The natural economy sector i.e livestock and subsistence farming which by its essence is backward in as much as its technical and scientific base is low, and added to this, it has suffered most in the hands

of the colonial masters.

Furthermore the neo-colonial influences which are rooted in the social division of labour in the world Capitalist market worsen the chances of a healthy growth of this sector of the economy. Supplementing this, and further more deepening the contradictions to which an economy in a capitalist context is inherently subject to, is the disharmony and lack of interaction of the modern and traditional sectors of the economy. Over and above this the monoculture nature of third world countries' economy, i.e the dependence on few commodities for export rules out an accurate planning process, and equally frustrates the integrative nature underlying a socialist plan.

The neolithic stage of our economic development, in

other words, the dominant role of small scale Commodity production, with all the attendant problems emanating from it, poses new and novel problems for socialist planning in Somalia. Small scale commodity production, as yet, lacking sophisticated division of labour, and subsisting in conditions where labour productivity is very low, fails to promote certain essential preconditions of socialist planning and transformation could not occur in such a situation. In point of fact, conscious socialist planning of such an economy commits itself to devise ways and means of overcoming the transitional nature of small scale commodity production, which from a socialist policies to the extent that they encourage strong public and co-operative sectors accelerate the process of capital accumulation and thereby rapid economic development. The nationalisation program of expatriate and local private enterprise of 1970, and the establishment of Co-operatives in 1973 were conscious policies which favoured the bringing together of small scale enterprises to create large scale ones capable of coping with the new needs of social development. The advantageous benefits of the public sector has been exhaustively dealt with in an article in Halgan (5th issue). There it is in minute details shown how, with in a period of 7 years the State sector has expanded from just 16 enterprises to over 50. The expansion is not a mere quantitative aggregates but a qualitative development as well. Most probably the development of the state sector is not a smooth process; inefficiencies lack of personnel with expertise and know-how, sufficient capital outlays, marketability

of products, etc still bedevil our state enterprises. But these are not adequate reasons to turn our back on the state sector, it is as a matter of fact an inducement to make us work all the more harder to make it a better success. The advantages of the state sector, on condition that there is better planning, far outweighs its disadvantages. All the same, a deep critical appraisal of the state sector and more resolute efforts to resolve its multiple contradictions, and the laying down of a satisfactory interrelationship between the state and private sectors, all constitute important facts which are essential to macro-economic planning.

PERSPECTIVE PLANNING FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOMALIA.

The history, role and nature of our planning has been elaborately dealt with elsewhere (2nd issue of Halgan 1976), therefore there is no need to go any unnecessary details with regard to it. To recapitulate on the main ideas of that article our first two economic life. Serious economic planning took shape under the present revolutionary state since the choice of socialist orientation implies a conscious planning of economic life. The 1971-73 and 1974-78 development plans were steps in the right direction to the extent that these plans were undertaken to effect a rapid economic transformation depending on a strategy of creating a scale of priorities insuring faster growth rates.

In these two plans sizeable funds were allotted for developing an industrial base in the Somali Democratic Republic. But despite these plans, and inspite of the great efforts

harnessed for their implementation, certain chronic problems subverting our plans remain. One factor is ascertainment of the investment funds and capital outlays earmarked for the projects contained in the plan. Another serious shortcoming which is more and more asserting itself is the low absorption rate of our economy. This is the lack of an economic capacity to fully utilise even the available funds. The 1974 - 78 plan manifestly showed how unable our economy is in respect of fully attaining high levels of optimal utilisation of the given resources.

In this regard one can advance the proposition that the lack of trained man-power, the dearth of efficient administrative and managerial staff, particularly high level staff will for a number of years to come, foster exceptionally unfavourable conditions for rapid and fast economic growth rates. This will be the case since certain objective preconditions of fulfilling plan targets will for sometime be lacking.

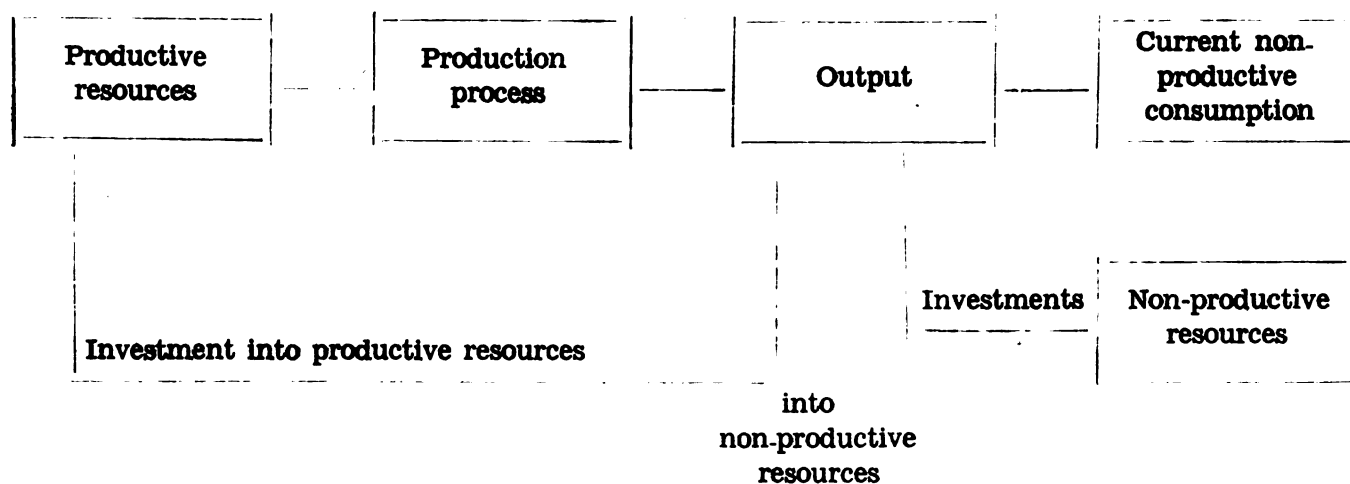
In consideration of observable drawbacks in the first two plans under the revolutionary state, and departing from the new conditions of the existence of the SRSP, with its economic program, a new interim development plan 1979 - 81 has been enunciated. The objectives of the new interim plan is on the one hand to successively carry out certain targets which the former plans failed to attain, and on the other to help us in our redoubled efforts to effect faster economic growth in the satisfaction of widening sphere of social needs. For this very reason there is absolute need that, in its content and methodology the new interim plan has to go a longer way in advancing the

revolutionary goals set down by the state. Moreover the policies of sectoral co-ordination the recruitment of high level staff, and their improved training, the compilation and collation of statistical data, harmonisation of interbranch relationships, are all factors which ought to be given top priority. In short there is a feeling that an indepth ground-

ing of economic categories, and their thorough knowledge and dynamic correlations is absent in our economic planning at any rate in the practical sphere. The present plan

has to therefore, avoid the pitfalls of former plans. Accordingly, and since economic growth is the touchstone and pillar of economic planning, particularly in a developing country, the need for fuller understanding and appreciation of this category is absolutely called for. Economic growth primarily means an increase in the volume of the productive processes, an expansion in the scale of production, and growth in the output and its consumption and replenishment of production resources, comprises the trans-

formation of productive resources into productive, which are connected up with non-productive resources which partake in production. In our country Livestock, agriculture, fishing, light Industry and commercial servicing constitute our productive resources. The point is how to efficiently pool together all these resources and optimise their productivity. In other words how to maximise the output of a certain input which one initially starts with. The chart below gives us a picture enlightening us on the matter:-



In this Chart productive resources are the input, the process of production is the dynamic process whereby productive resources are transformed into Products and their utilisation constitute an output, while the replenishment of resources by manufactured goods represents a feedback.

A plan for development is one which maximises output by efficiently harnessing the available inputs or the human and natural resources in a country's possession. Through the intensified utilisation of technology and science, both imported and local, the effort to increase social production is turned into practical reality. With the help of various steps, a favourable impact on the national economy could be

achieved. Amongst such steps the working out of a scale of social objectives and needs is an important one which can never be lost sight of.

CONCLUSION:-

Development perspective plans embody a whole set of factors which ought to be combined, and considered in the framework of a fast changing reality. In our country the priority of perspective planning, in the initial stages, has to concentrate on transforming the agro-nomadic and fishery sectors, thus creating the conditions for a strong and viable industrial base.

Industrialisation, under which the backwardness characterising our national eco-

nomy could be defeated will undoubtedly open up new vistas for our people. For one thing, a stronger productivity of these gainfully employed our society can afford allotting a bigger share toward social amenities, and the more determined coping with the social problems attendant in a society undergoing social change. In conclusion our planning and particularly the present interim development plan 1979-81 should dedicate itself to the fundamental goals of social commitment to the welfare of the Somali masses. And welfare can best be served through the practical increase in the volume of social welfare, and the qualitative improvement in the social services.

PARTY LIFE



Decisions passed by the C. C. of S. R. S. P.

On 16th August the SRSP Politbureau had an official meeting in which decisions concerning the reorganisation of the structure of some of the Central Committee Bureaus and their tasks were reached.

These decisions were:-

1. The Economic Bureau and the Finance Bureau were unified and renamed the Bureau of Economy and Finance. The Chairman of the former Economic Bureau Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud was named the Chairman of the National Economic Committee.

2. functions of the Defence and Security Bureau would come under the investigation committee of the SRSP.

3. The Tourism Agency has been re-structured as the Ministry of Tourism and its new Minister is declared to be Jaalle Colonel Mohamed Omar Jes.

4. The following changes had been made on the responsibilities of some Central Committee members:-

a) Jaalle Brig. General Mohamed Ali Shire who was the representative of the Central Committee at Hiran Region is named as the CC. representative of Hiran and Galgaduud Regions.

b) Jaalle Colonel Ahmed Mohamoud Farah who was the Central Committee representative of Mudug Region is

named as the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Central Committee.

c) Jaalle Mahamed Ali Nur who was the Vice Chairman of the Social Affairs Bureau is named as the Chairman of the same Bureau.

d) Jaalle Abdirahman Aidid who was the Central Committee representative in Middle Shabele Region is named as the Chairman of the Social Science and Research Bureau.

e) J/le Mohamed Jama Haji «Kore» who was Central Com-

mittee representative in Galgaduud region is named representative of the Bay Region.

f) Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Duale who was the Central Committee representative in Lower Shabelle Region is named as the CC representative of Lower and Middle Jubba Regions.

g) Jaalle Hamsa Mahamed Gaadaweine who was the Chairman of the Defence and Security Bureau is named as the Central Committee representative of the Gedo Region.

The 6th Anniversary of the peoples Malitia - (Victory Pioneers)

On the 18th August in the main avenues of Mogadishu, the Capital of the SDR huge demonstrations of thousands of victory pioneers paraded, and along with them, in these celebrations were other social groupings showing their support. These demonstrations were held to commemorate the 6th Anniversary of the victory pioneers establishment on 19th August 1972.

The victory pioneers were formed from a section of the youth who came forward to sacrifice their lives in the salutary endeavour of carrying out the great national tasks made imperative by need to defend the fruits of the revolution. The-

se youth did without rest, and forsook their individual interests with the least expectation of material gain, but with the absolute conviction in furthering the public good, and in answering the revolutionary call to help the people.

The army of the victory pioneers became renown for being the watchful eye of the revolution, and for this they were maligned and abused by the retrogressive forces against whom they waged a relentless struggle. The achievements of the army of victory pioneers of those 6 years cannot be in detail summarised here, but in short it can confidently



be stated that their history occupies a golden page.

This year's celebration of the victory pioneers establishment, occurred in the unknown soldiers monument, where thousands of people massed up. Taking part in this congregation was Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, the Vice General Secretary of the SRSP, Vice President of the SDR, who delivered a valuable speech there. The contents of the speech mainly dealt with the history of this army and revolutionary role it fulfills in the struggle which our nation continues against its various enemies.

On this occasion Jaalle Ismail addressed himself to the struggle presently being directed by the Somali National Liberation Fronts of WSLF and SALF who are

seeking to liberate their sacred soil from Abyssinian colonialism.

He went on to underline the material and moral aid which the SDR extends to its brethren in the Somali West, based as this is on the principal stand to help all national liberation movements.

The Vice-General Secretary exhorted the victory pioneers to continue waging a relentless war against the anti-revolutionary, and reactionary forces in our midst, and in addition congratulated them on the impor-

tant occasion they are celebrating.

Present on this occasion and welcoming the Vice-General Secretary was the head of the nation's militia Brig. General Abdirahman Abdi Hussien, who is a member of the CC of SRSP.

In all the regional capitals of the SDR similar celebrations and ceremonies were undertaken to commemorate the occasion, and without exception the reports delivered underscored the heroic role which the history of our militia signifies.

Student Seminar Closed

The Secretary General of the SRSP President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre closed a one-month Seminar for 210 Secondary School Students on 6th August 1978 at Police Academy.

In a speech on the occasion, the Secretary General said that the Revolution objective in holding such seminars is to create for the youth friendly and sociable atmosphere under which they can intermingle, get acquainted with one another and at the same time fight such social evils as tribalism.

J/le Siad urged the students to strengthen their cultural and sport's activities in order to create a healthy society free from all vices.

The Secretary General noted that Scientific Socialism is the only path with which a rapid development,

equality and justice could be accomplished and that the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party is guiding the society in the materialisation of these principles.

Finally Jaalle Siad commended the institutions that organised the Seminar among them the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union, Ministry of Education and the Police Academy Officials.

The Seminar attended by monitors of all Secondary Schools was the first of its kind ever organised in the country.

The main points of discussion for the seminar centred on the organisation of all the Students as a united body, the way of raising their political consciousness and the formation of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union within the students movement.

WORLD AFFAIRS



The growing friendship of Somalia and People's Republic of China



In the first week of August a high level delegation from the Peoples Republic of China led by Vice Premier Chin Mu-Hua paid a friendly visit to the Somali Democratic Republic. Preceding this visit, and following in its wake, there has been a number of Chinese delegations, of various levels, who paid friendly visits to the SDR. Equally Somali delegations, including high ranking ones, have visited the peoples Republic of China.

General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare, several times visited the PRC heading important delegations. Ismail Ali Abokor, Vice General Secretary; and Vice President

of the SDR, and a delegation he led was one of the extremely important delegations that recently made a friendly tour of the PRC.

All these visits, go to testify to the quite good relations existing between the two countries and peoples which with the passing of days, gathers momentum.

The link between the two countries is not one which started recently but existed for a number of centuries.

China is country renown for its ancient civilisations, and the SDR has its long recorded history running to thousands of years.

Friendly relations between

the two countries in all spheres of life date back to centuries before Christ's birth. These friendly relations were cemented by the trade links between the two countries and peoples.

In 1949 a Socialist Revolution which was spearheaded by the Chinese Communist Party lead by Comrade Mao Tse Tung heralded a new dawn for the peoples of China. From then on the Peoples Republic of China became an active member in the world progressive movement, which is locked up in an acute struggle with World Imperialism. The Somali people were then waging a bitter struggle for national independence, and as a result belonged to the same broad progressive front as the PRC.

In 1960 after the birth of the Somali Republic, the Peoples Republic of China was one of its first friends with whom it had cordial political relations. Despite the endeavours of neo-colonialism to weaken that link and set Somalia against the progressive and revolutionary bloc, of which China was at the forefront yet the PRC extended selfless aid to the fledgling republic of Somalia, in the economic, health and educational spheres.

The relations between



the two countries became consolidated following the 21st October 1969 revolution, when a new era dawned for Somalia. Thanks to the October Revolution the Somali Democratic Republic chose the Scientific Socialist path of development, which alone could save it from the neo-colonialist stranglehold, thereby opening up new vistas for true social Liberation. The Community of ideological views cemented a new relationship between the two countries and peoples, and the cooperative links gathered new strength and sunk deeper roots, nurtured as they are by the shared socialist outlooks.

In the international Conferences the Somali Democratic Republic consistently sided with the righteous cause of the Chinese people. An example we can point to is the SDR'S advocacy and support for the PRC'S right to its seat in the Security Council, which imperialist powers for a long time tried to deny to the PRC, on the grounds that Taiwan represented the Chinese people.

The SDR militantly voiced its opinion that only the PRC had the right to represent the whole of China, and it actively Convassed for China's inclusion in the UN, which eventually succeeded.

In the same fashion the PRC has been unselfishy aiding the SDR in the difficult struggle against Colonialism, and backwardness, which still are perennial problems which our country is trying its best to overcome. The Somali public, even the most ordinary man in the street recognises and appreciates the unconditional, and immensely beneficial aid which the PRC extends to our country. Through practical experience the Somali masses have come to feel special affection and Comradely love for their Chinese brothers.

The Somali children when playing in the vicinity of their homes, and set their eyes on a truck carrying Chinese Comrades, stop playing, and in unison raise their hands, shouting, «Long Life China,

China». This habitual phenomena which now characterises, Somali children, and which every Chinese who came to the SDR immediately notices doubtlessly translates the genuine feelings beating in the hearts of the Somalis for the Chinese people, and the eternal friendly relations existing between the two peoples for centuries. A Somali Proverb States, «What ever the elders say, the children practically voice».

Amongst the Somali projects built by Chinese aid the following count as the most prominent: The Cigarette and match factory, the Somali National Theatre both in Mogadisho, the running Water system in the North West region, and the long highway from BeletWeyn to Burao, which is the greatest single project so far carried out, and recently officially opened by Vice-Premier Comrade Chen Mu-Hua, who in August this year came with a high level delegation to the SDR.

The PRC and the S. R are two countries which today are led by two Socialist Parties: The Chinese Communist Party and the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, are firmly united against Imperialist conspiracies and super power plots, and without any but openly they are in solidarity with the national liberation movements, in their fight for freedom, democracy and Socialism, whose success is assured by ongoing historical processes.

MONTHLY BULLETIN



Vice Premier of P.R. of China visits Somalia



The 27 member Chinese government delegation led by Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua, was given an impressive send-off at Mogadishu Airport on 5th August at the end of a six-day visit to the S.D.R.

Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua, of the state council of the People's Republic of China is a member of the Tenth and Elventh Central of the Communist Party of China.

At the invitation of the Somali Government, the delegation paid an official visit to the SDR. During her stay, Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua inaugurated the 970 Kilometre long Beledweyne-Burao Highway built with Chinese aid. Deputy leaders of the delegation included; Pan chi change Pai-fa, vice Minister of the Capital construction commission.

Upon arrival on July 30, Vice-Premier Chen Mu Hua and her delegation were welcomed by a large group of the SRSP heads and government representatives and the general public also participated to welcome the Chinese guests. Comrade public Chen Mu Hua was given warm welcome by Vice-President Ismail Ali Abokor also present at the airport was a politbureau member of the SRSP Jaalle Ahmed Suleman Abdulle, Minister, other SRSP, C.C. official Somali Ambassador to China Mohamed Ismail Kahin and other highranking Party and government representatives of Somali Social Organization, also Chinese Ambassador to Somalia, representatives of Chinese technicians in Somalia and heads of diplomatic missions of various countries.

«We have come to stren-

gthen and develop the friendly relations and cooperation between our two peoples and also to learn from the great Somali people», Vice-premier Chen Mu-Hua said in a Statement upon arrival.

On July 31st, the leader of the Chinese delegation called on President Siad at the Presidency, They had very cordial and friendly conversations. In the course of their conversation, noted on the good bilateral relation between Somalia and China and discussed the situation in Africa

During their stay in So. Hua and her party accompanied by Vice-President Ismail Ali Abokor, visited projects built with Chinese aid including the Benadir Hospital the Cigarette and Match Factory and Mogadishu Stadium. The delegation also visited Kismayo in southern Somalia, Togdher and North-West Region of the SDR in the company of Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor. While in Togdher Comrade Chen Mu-Hua inaugurated the 970 Kilometre-long, Beledweyne - Burao Highway.

Vice-President Ismail Ali Abokor gave a state banquet in honour of the Chinese Vice-President and the Party she led.

In a speech on the occasion, the Vice-President said Somalia appreciates the wise policy of Chinese leadership in opposing super power hegemony and exploitation over smaller nations and noted that Somali people are very much heartened by victories of the Chinese people towards the modernization and advancement of their nation. He said that the two countries are linked by a long standing friendship out of the similarity of their historic experience and common membership of the developing third world nations.

Jaalle Ismail also noted the similar struggles of the two peoples for a just and equitable political, social and economic way of life the principle between all their commitment to of world peace, justice, friendship and solidarity between all nations as well as their steadfastness to defend their freedom, sovereignty and independence.

«Our two countries are also linked by their opposition to hegemonism and support to the rights of peoples for self-determination and destiny», he said.

In responding to Jaalle Ismail's speech comrade Chen Mu-Hua praised the Somali people for their tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism.

She went on to add: «In internal affairs, the government of Somalia under the leadership of President Siad Barre have paid great attention in developing the national economy and culture and mobilizing the masses to reclaim wasteland, develop agriculture and improve, livestock breeding in



a big way. It has also created the standardised Somali-script, worked hard to eradicate the vestiges of colonial forces and achieved gratifying successes in building up the country. Somalia in global terms has pursued a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, persisted in combating imperialism and hegemonism, stood for African, Arab and Third World Unity and opposed super-power interference in African affairs and those in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea Region. Thus winning the praise of the people of the Third World.

The Vice-Premier concluded: «Both China and So-

malia are developing countries belonging to the Third World. Our friendship has stood the test of time. And it is for the purpose of cultivating the flower of friendship that the Chinese Government delegation has come to visit Somalia. We sincerely hope that this flower of Sino-Somali friendship will bloom luxuriantly and bear fruit».

Vice-Premier Chen Mu-Hua of the Political Bureau of the people's Republic of China is also an alternate member of the Political Bureau of Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, and deputy to the fifth national people's Congress of PRC.

President's speech at Halane Training School

President Mahamed Siad Barre on the 16th of August gave a lecture on administrative leadership at Halane Training Center to the Director-Generals and General Managers of government departments and public enterprises currently in training.

They were admitted to

Halane on 21st June 1978. Earlier Jaalle Siad officially inaugurated the fifth orientation course for 150 senior civil servants at Halane on 4th December 1971. The course which lasted for three months was attended by Director-Generals, Ambassadors, General Managers and Directors. In his lecture, the presi-

dent noted the crucial importance of administrative leadership in the country's development framework to work in political, economic and social services.

«One can only fulfil his duties properly when one has the necessary knowledge and technique to undertake it and makes full use of the planning organisa-

tional and control methods of management», the president said public officials could best execute their duties to the people by carrying out their responsibilities with justice and honesty.

Jaalle Siad also stressed the need for promoting managerial techniques for the advancement of planned goals with a patriotic

spirit.

He called on the officials to widen their scope of ideas and activity for the enhancement of the national development effort. The president recalled the achievements made in every field of national development through co-operation of the government service and the public.

Al-Gamasy awarded a Somali medal

An Egyptian military delegation led by war minister, General Mohamed Abdulkani Al-Gamasi wound up four day official visit to the SDR on 8th August. The purpose of the seven member delegation was to further promote co-operation between Somalia and Egypt particularly in the military field.

The delegation was accorded a warm reception upon arrival by Vice-president Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar, Deputy Defence Minister Brig General Omar Haji Mohamed, Ministers, Bureau Chairmen, Egyptian Ambassador to Somalia and other Officials.

The party Secretary General and President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre awarded the Somali Star to the Egyptian war



Minister General Al-gamsi as a mark of Somali-Egyptian fraternal ties. Other members of the delegation also received awards.

The ceremony took place at a reception given in honour of the Egyptian war minister at the presidency. The reception was also attended by Somalia's first

Vice-President and Minister of Defence Lt. Gen. Mohamed Ali Samatar and other defence Ministry officials.

During their stay in Somalia General Al-gamasi and his delegation held talks with Somali officials on promoting relations between the armed forces of the two countries.

Graduated Teachers

A ceremony was held at the Halane Teacher's Training Institute on the evening of August 9th for the graduation of 2124 new primary Programme teachers.

The Halane Institute has produced between 2000 and

3000 graduates annually since its establishment four years ago; the present group of graduates is the third.

The minister of Education Jaalle Aden Mohamed Ali speaking on the occasion said, «The teacher should put the task of serving his

people before his own interests». He reminded the new teachers of their responsibilities and expressed the hope that they would meet their tasks with dedication and understanding of the impact for their profession. The students had successful-



ly completed eight months of intensive training in military and academic subjects to the equivalent of form 2 which qualifies them to teach in primary schools. The minister noted that of the graduating class, 735 would immediately join the ranks of primary school

teachers, and take new assignments in government schools at the start of the new scholastic year while the remaining 1310 will continue at the Institute for an other year to qualify as intermediate school teachers.

The newly graduated teachers will join the existing

8306 teachers in the primary schools where, in the coming years, they will together be responsible for instructing an estimated total of around 300.000 pupils in the nation's primary schools.

Statistics for 1977-78 on primary education; 228.484 pupils enrolled in 5952 classes. The anticipated new intake for 1978-79 year is approximately 80.000.

Halane Teachers' Institute receives assistance as well as support from ALESCO (Arab League Educational, Scientific and cultural Organization).

ALESCO has provided teachers for the three Arabic medium subjects namely, social studies and religion, in addition to donating audio-Visual aids.

Cairo Conference of Arab Information Ministers

Information ministers of Arab League member countries held a two day conference which ended on 3rd August. The Somali Democratic Republic was represented by a delegation headed by the Minister of Information and National Guidance, Jaalle Abdisalaam Sheikh Hussein.

The conference held discussions on the current situation in the middle East and Africa and explored ways and means to strengthen publicity work of the Arab Countries against foreign intervention and Israeli Zionism.

The Somali delegation submitted an important memorandum to the conference, which delineated that; «Africa and parts of the Arab homeland are currently suffering a

imperialist assault of a new kind. The intervention of foreign forces in the Horn of Africa with the sinister objective and ambitions for encircling this important strategic area calls for vigilance».

The conference adopted 17 draft resolutions concerning a new strategy of Arab information activities to confront Israel Zionist propaganda and the strengthening of cooperation in the field of information services with Africa and with the rest of the 3rd world countries.

Upon his return from Cairo Jaalle Abdisalaam Sheikh Hussein talked to newsmen on August 13th. in answering a question on how the conference handled the critical issue of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa?

he said «For one thing, the conference passed a resolution in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples of Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea against Abbyssinian colonial oppression. . . .

In reply to another question on whether the conference adopted concrete measures that would promote Afro-Arab cooperation, the Minister said «the conference adopted resolution towards promoting publicity and information links between Arab countries and other third World countries, specially African countries, A specific illustration of this is the decision to call a joint Afro Arab Conference of ministers of Information. It was decided that such a joint conference, the

Cont. on page 18



THEORETICAL ISSUES

Freedom and Necessity

By: Mohamud A. Ali (Bayr)

Amongst the host of categories used in philosophy, freedom and necessity constitute preeminently important ones, but at the same time are awfully difficult to comprehend. Since the advent of philosophy, and philosophical thinking took its independent course of development, these two categories have been thoroughly discussed, but disagreements as to their meaning contents add role in social development abound. That is why we need to shed light on these two categories. A better understanding of them will surely facilitate the comprehension of other interconnected categories, and more over will deepen our knowledge of the historical materialist interpretation of these two concepts. At first a separate elaboration of each will be attempted, and secondly their dynamic dialectics will be brought out.

NECESSITY

The categories of necessity denotes the sense of necessary condition, which allows certain phenomena and processes the possibility of maturing into qualitatively new ones. Necessity encompasses both the natural and social dimensions of life, thus we talk of natural and historical necessity. The basis of necessity in all its multivarious forms is determined by the intrinsically objective laws that govern the internal flow of

life. It is through objective laws that water in a kettle is made to boil, equally the successful construction of an aircraft is due to our mastery of the laws of aerodynamics. The same objective laws make themselves obviously felt in social life through the observable consequence of socio-economic formations grounded as these are on the growth of productive forces, which momentous social revolution transform the class social relations subsisting in a given society. ~~Necessity does not~~ mean as some philosophers try to make us believe as a synonym with predetermination. The philosophical acceptance of the world being governed by objective natural laws does not exclude, but presupposes the firm belief in the active role of man, the masses and social forces in changing their lives for the better. The laws of necessity only go to point to us the best ways and methods to adopt in the effectuation of the aims and objectives which we aspire to. A full knowledge of the world around one, a deep understanding of its laws, properties, tendencies, etc. furnishes one with better devices and means to go about it. The fulsome belief in predetermination, the vulgarly determinist idea of man as a helpless atom thrown into the vast flowing currents that is life violates and is foreign to the strictly Marxist-Leninist conception of necessity. Man is free to the ex-

tent he takes stock of the necessary laws that govern him. Thus the making use of necessary laws tremendously helps man to widen the horizons of his freedom.

FREEDOM

Freedom philosophically and is so interconnected with the concept of necessity as to be inseparable from it. The Hegelian and Engelian definition of «freedom as the appreciation of necessity», organically brings out the closeness of the two concepts. Furthermore this definition really goes to give us the essence of what freedom means. Certain philosophers and philosophical schools go to the extent of splitting hairs in their endeavour to define the nature of freedom. But despite their efforts we gain no clearer understanding of its practical usefulness. These philosophical schools confuse the old philosophical and sociological problem of the relationship between freedom and necessity, problem of free will and determinism thus voluntarism and fatalism. Additionally they counterpose material existence to spiritual counterpart, thereby expressing the unacceptable notion that limitations, of our material existence negate freedom to be associated with it. Accordingly freedom is made solely an attribute, a function of our spiritual world. This obviously is ideals befuddling of our minds, inasmuch as the.

re is no way of separating the material and spiritual dimensions of life. The two constitute a social whole, insappable and the scope of freedom is existent in both.

«Freedom does not consist in the dream of independence from natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work towards definite ends. This holds good in relation both to the laws of external nature and to those which govern the bodily and mental existence of men themselves: two classes of laws which we can separate from each other only in thought but not in reality. Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the subject. Therefore the freer a man's judgement is in relation to a definite question, the greater is necessity with which the content of this judgement will be determined; while uncertainty founded on ignorance, which seems to make an arbitrary choice among many different and conflicting possible decisions, shows precisely by this that it is not force, that it is controlled by the very object it should itself control. Freedom therefore consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature, a control founded on knowledge of natural necessity, it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development. F.Engles, anti-Duhring». This passage unequivocally spells out the marxist-Leninist conception of freedom, which is as made clear a blending and harmonisation of all its various aspects. None of the elements which contribute to the widening of human freedom are left and man is not reduced to a hand-

less creature abdicating responsibility to improve the conditions of his life. On the contrary man is elevated to his deserving heights, that is with the help of knowledge of himself, the society of which he is a member and the surrounding nature, he can most definitely embark successively on any task that presents itself.

THE RELEVANCE OF FREEDOM AND NECESSITY TO OUR DAILY LIVES.

Philosophical categories are meaningless if they are not integrated into the real practical life of the people. Accordingly we ought to discuss freedom and necessity in the context of our own society. With regard to freedom we must correlate its individual and social parameters, and at the same time both the social and individual should be looked at, within the framework of the historically necessary conditions that are in operation in Somalia. Ultimately freedom itself becomes a function of the level of the social productive process attained by our society. In turn the nature of social relations, the wealth and sophistication of our culture, in nutshell the whole superstrutal planes are dependent on the productivity of labour, the accumulated productive implements, experiences and the scientific and technological know-how enjoyed by our society. To simplify this the freedom of our society, individually as well as collectively cannot go beyond but is actually determined by the natural and human resources which so far have been fully tapped. As a corollary of this any extension and expansion of our realm of freedom will by necessity emanate from the

better and more efficient utilisation of our resources. Freedom like all other things maturing within the womb of necessity, emerges under the influence of many chancy events to grow and flourish. By this we want to convey the idea that the growth of freedom is an ascendant process whereby in the initial stages a society starts from scratch, gradually grows, and eventually attains higher and levels. Philosophically this is expressed by K. Marx's and F.Engel's statement that true freedom begins beyond the realm of necessity. So, every society, including ours proceeds along the lines of the departure from the realm of necessity where control over nature and our social systems and relations are minimal to greater and greater control over nature and our social systems and relations. The attainment of the realm of freedom affords man to realise all the potentialities that otherwise lie dormant and untapped. In the conditions of today's major tendencies it is the socialist system which creates the prerequisites for the full potentialities that are inherent in the progressive forces that are fighting for a development oriented, just and non-exploitative society.

The other aspect of freedom necessitating a relatively exhaustive elaboration is relationship linking the social and individual aspects of freedom. Obviously freedom has to be enjoyed by individuals living in the society. But then are these individuals separated from society by a great Chinese Wall? No the individual's fate is inextricably interwoven to that of society and in actuality cannot be comprehended in separation from it. In other words individuals are not se-

parate cells, which in aggregate combine to form society but in point of fact are active agents who in combination form a social organism, that is society. Through labour and production, members of society co-operative combine and exchange their labour activities. Through their powerful cultural heritage, experiences and creativity, and with the help of language and articulate speech men in society come to understand each other, express their aspiration as a collective, and of course as social groupings conscious of their position, and the need to change it for the better. Accordingly the theory of social atomism which reduces society to a mere aggregate of unconnected individuals, each a prisoner in his own island exemplified by Daniel Defoe's, Robinson Crusoe, is an untenable theory which does not stand to the test of practical life.

Relating social and individual freedom to our own conditions it becomes clearly apparent that the horizons of individual freedom is widened and enriched by the further advancement of the realm of social freedom. The more developed our productive capacities are, the better we tap our

natural and human resources, the more smoothly we create a balanced sectoral economy based on harmonised proportionate and territorial all-rounded growth, the better we will be able to tackle the many social problems that today we confront. The strengthening of the material basis of life, and tied to this a greater democratisation of our state and public institutions run on principles of strict accountability to the masses, will surely favour an extension of both social and individual freedom. A dialectical unity of the two categories, a recognition of their organic and mutual interaction furthers their theoretic and practical usefulness. Whereas a false counterposing and the undue emphasis on one, at the expense of the other invariably leads to the negation of both.

Conclusion.

We have attempted to spell out the intimate and organic link between necessity and freedom, and to some extent tried to posit them to real life experiences. Our society, thus far finds itself mainly operating in the sphere of necessity that is we find ourselves in con-

ditions which beyond our will and wish, do not allow us to get all the objectives and aspirations set down for our selves. The stage we are in the development process is one which needless to say, has historical roots and thereby obeys certain historical laws emanating from the underdevelopment to which we are its victims. Our strategy is how to overcome this legacy of underdevelopment in all sphere of life. The harsh and untamed nature which over 60% of our population have to cope with, the low level of scientific and technological developments, and the poor educational and skill standards of the vast majority of our people are certain factors which like it or not, we have to reckon with, and on their basis lay down our future plans. The more conscious we are of our limitation, but despite this our confidence that they are surmountable, and the adoption of necessary tactics and methods suited to our specific reality undoubtedly will furnish us with the most promising programme to bring closer the social and collectivist spirit to freedom which alone assures the individual freedom to which every one of us is entitled.

Cont. from page 15

first one, should take place sometime before the next annual conference of Arab information ministers that is scheduled to be held in the Yemen Arab Republic. The joint Afro-Arab conference will be held around February, 1979, in Tunis».

On the question of strengthening the coordinative activities institutionally, he said, «The developing of better institutional links is a long term affair, nevertheless a great deal has already

been achieved in this connection. There are plans to establish an Arab Media center, possibly in Tunis. Syria is to host an Arab Media technical institute for training the cadre involved with the Media from Arab countries. The question of promoting

Arab Journalists and mass-media personnel was also discussed and, in this connection, it was decided to hold a festival and a symposium on Arab Media in Saudi Arabia on September

this year.

In assessing the Cairo conference, he noted, «the conference was highly successful. It dealt serious blows against Israeli Zionism and against all forms of Racism and colonialism. It strongly endorsed the just struggles of those battling against colonial domination i.e the people of Palestine, those of Western Somalia, Abbo, Eritrea and the struggling people in Southern Africa».

BOOKS REVIEW



The Speech of Jaalle M. S. Barre

The President of the SDR.

delivered to the 15th OAU Summit



Address delivered by the President of the Somali Democratic Republic, Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, at the 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Heads of State
and Government,
Excellencies,
Ladies & Gentlemen,

Allow me, first of all, to convey on behalf of myself and my delegation our sincere gratitude to the President, Government and people of the Sudan for the warm hospitality and welcome we have been accorded since the moment of our arrival in this beautiful city of Khartoum. Let me also congratulate my brother, President Nimeiri and the entire Sudanese people for the efficient and smooth manner in which this conference has been organised, which, indeed, renders our work and deliberation here all the more easier.

I am confident that, under your wise guidance, Mr. Chairman, the serious work we came here to accomplish for the people of Africa will be crowned with success.

Our Organization, whose lofty aim was to realize the aspirations of our people for liberation, unity, peace and progress, has passed through many a critical period in its fifteen year history but equally achieving a great deal.

This 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government is taking place at a time of heightened international tension and rivalrous confrontation in the African Continent. It is indeed an unfortunate reality that our continent is fast becoming an arena over which the struggle for spheres of influence is being waged the East and West. Foreign powers are pursuing activities in fulfilment of their policy interests in a manner that is most damaging to the true

interests of the African peoples concerned on the pretext of defending African interests. This involvement of foreign powers has taken highly disturbing forms that affect dangerously the future of Africa and the well-being of its peoples. The effect of this interference has created a host of antagonism and divisions among the African countries, thus weakening their effective pursuits of their cherished goals in liberating the remaining colonial pockets as well as achieving economic and social development in our continent. These wanton acts of gross interference have brought about the escalation and internationalisation of limited conflicts.

The dark record of colonialism is being repeated and dismemberment of the Continent is again taking place through the demarcation of new areas of influence. In conformity with the practice of the colonial policies of the old days arms and troops are being given to favoured countries while being denied to other. The only difference today is that the Soviet Union is an active and highly prominent participant in the scramble for the recolonisation of Africa.

Turning now to the question of the Soviet-Cuban presence in the Horn of Africa in particular and in Africa in general, I would like to make certain clarification which are pertinent to the situation prevailing in our region.

According to our African traditions we have never failed to be grateful for a good deed nor have we forgotten what the Soviet had done for us and for Africa, especially in the course of the liberation struggle. We then welcomed the assistance of the Soviet Union as a disinterested gesture and genuine generosity towards the developing countries. We had not only accepted the aforesaid notion but we have publicly declared our appreciation to this effect.

However, we have been disillusioned by the fact that the Soviet Union has amply demonstrated in its recent intervention in the Horn of Africa that it covetes the same colonial ambitions as the old ones.

Foreign interference in all forms and manifestation is inconsistent with the legitimate aspirations of all Africans and the spirit of the OAU Charter which upholds «the inalienable right of all peoples to control their own destiny»; it is incompatible with our commitment to freedom, equality and justice as well as the safeguarding and consolidation of our hard-won independence and freedom. In other words, it flies right in the face of the very principles enshrined in the Charter and various OAU resolutions which guide our individual and collective efforts to assert our true African personality. By imposing their own solutions to African problems of which they have little understanding they demonstrate utter contempt for our peoples' aspirations by forcibly endeavouring to shape and control their destinies. Naturally, such foreign imposed solutions to African problems are in the final analysis, no solution at all, they only complicate an

already difficult situation.

Mr. Chairman,

When we advocated that Africa is for the Africans and call upon to keep their hands off, this is not mere sloganeering. It is an expression which truly reflects our deep sense of commitment to the ideals and aspirations which we all share, and demonstration of our determination to solidly oppose all acts of foreign interference in our own affairs.

I have considered it necessary to address myself to this particular issue, since I believe in all sincerity, that it is the most serious and pressing matter of the day, which has already caused much hardship and suffering to our people and which calls for our collective combative resources, if we are to avert the chaos, dissension and general destabilization which are sure to ensure.

Mr. Chairman,

It is high time that Africa assumed full responsibility for the defence and security of this Continent. As many of you may recall, I had occasion during the course of the Mogadishu OAU Summit in 1974 and again in Kampala, to advocate the establishment of an All-African Defence Force. Apart from being entrusted with peace-keeping duties in conflict areas, it was envisaged that such a force could be mobilized for the defence of our continent and for strengthening the ranks of the liberation movements in the remaining colonial territories in Africa, in order to speed up the process of total liberation of our Continent.

We still maintain that in the interest of preserving Africa's independence and freedom, that such force be established as a matter of urgency in order to eliminate the reliance

on foreign forces. However, the creation of such an African force should be responsible of this organization, which must per-force authorize its utilization and direct organizational and operational aspects related to.

Mr. Chairman,

A highly disturbing example of the dangers of foreign intervention in African affairs in the strange role assumed by Cuba in the Horn of Africa. A supposedly non-aligned country has chosen to ally itself with the forces of colonialism, oppression and hegemonism. It has allowed itself to be used as a proxy for a super-power, namely the Soviet Union, in the promotion of the latter's designs and ambitions within the context of Super-power rivalry and competition.

The two super-power recognize the catastrophic implications of a direct confrontation between themselves and are in all their actions anxious to spare their own peoples from the haves and misery of war. In order to minimise the possibility of direct confrontation, the camouflage of their military interventions in various parts in the world by the use of surrogates and mercenary forces. In this respect Cuba is the surrogate of the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa.

In subordinating its national interests to that of a world power by serving as its henchman Cuba has in recent years completely reversed its position in the international scene. It was in 1961 Belgrade Conference on Non-Aligned States, in the wake of Foreign Aggression that the then President of Cuba stated the following and I quote:-

«How could we proclaim within this conference the sacred principles of the self-determination of peoples and

of the independence and integrity of states if we did not discuss here, the imperialist conduct of the United States government towards the struggle for national liberation of the Cuban people whom I represent? How could we proclaim these principles without condemning the bombardment of our towns and the invasion of our country by mercenary forces, financed, organized, and directed by the imperialist government of the United States? Unquote.

Ironically enough these very words are true today for the Horn as they were yesterday for Cuba, but with a highly significant difference. The mercenary forces are those of Cuba and they have been equipped, financed and directed by the Soviet Union against the national liberation struggle of people in Western Somalia and Eritrea.

Consequently Mr. Chairman, Cuba is surely unworthy of its membership in a movement dedicated to the preservation and safeguarding of the principles and policies of non-participation in collective alliances which include the big powers; refusal to enter into bilateral alliances with a major foreign power; refusal to grant military bases to such powers.

My primary aim in lifting the mask which Cuba has donned for sometime is to expose their true face. The distinguished members of this August Assembly, will no doubt in their wisdom seriously consider collective African action to counter the Cuban menace, on the eve of the forthcoming meeting of Non-Aligned States in Belgrade, and particularly in the light of the Cuban's attempts to allay international

censure by hosting the forthcoming Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned States.

My purpose in evoking this issue has not been to invite controversy but to draw the attention of this August Assembly to the critical situation prevalent in the Horn of Africa where widespread hostilities have claimed hundreds of thousands of African lives and untold suffering and misery for many more. The death and destruction still continue without respite and despite the promises of super-power to this effect, there is little prospect for peace in the region.

Mr. Chairman

The genesis of the conflict in the Horn of Africa has its roots in the unique position of Ethiopia in African history.

It is well known, that with the exception of Liberia, Ethiopia is the one country in Africa that was never subjected to European colonisation. In fact, Ethiopia has never failed to impress upon the world her long standing and much vaunted independence of over 3000 years. Naturally, the first question that would immediately occur to our minds is: what precisely was Ethiopia up-to and during the whole period of the unfolding of the process of colonisation in the African Continent and the subjugation of her peoples by the Europeans? Did she actually remain within her traditional boundaries or did she expand? Did she raise the banner of Freedom and independence throughout the Continent, or did she engage in conspiracy and collusion against African peoples in league with foreign forces and participate in the scramble for co-

lonial spoils. The simple answer to all these questions is: That Ethiopia fully participated in the general scramble for Africa and made tremendous efforts to secure the largest possible slice of neighbouring African territories for her expansionist ambitions.

At the time of the advent of European colonialism to this part of Africa in the latter part of the 19th Century, Ethiopia, then called Abyssinia, was confined to her traditional frontiers, having Shoa as its Southern Province. It is only after her collusion with European powers, through secret agreements and her accession to the Brussels General Act which of all the peoples of the unrestricted importation and possession of fire arms, that she was able to establish her dominion over wide areas of peoples in the region. In fact the territorial ambitions of the Abyssinian Kings were much larger than the present boundaries of the Empire, as evidenced in the famous circular letter of Emperor Menelik all to the European colonial powers in 1891. In that circular he strongly staked his claim to be considered as one of the contenders for the partition of Africa demanding territories as far as Lake Victoria and Khartoum and including present day Somalia, Jibouti and Eritrea.

The colonisation of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea are entitled to their right of self-determination in conformity with universally recognized principles and in accordance with the basic objective of the O.A.U to eradicate all forms of colonialism from the African Continent. Colonialism has no colour and human and political justice has no exceptions. It has always been a cardinal principle of

Somalia's policy to support the liberation struggle of all colonial peoples for independence and self-determination. We have always lent our moral and material support to the liberation movements in Africa, Palestine, South East Asia and elsewhere. We do not see the liberation struggle of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea as an exception. These liberation movements have been waging their struggle against colonial oppression ever since the occupation of their countries by Ethiopia. We firmly believe that they deserve the support of all freedom loving peoples and the recognition of the Organization of Africa unity. We are fully discharging our duties in this respect and we will continue to do so. We don't accept for a moment the notion propagated by Ethiopia that Somalia's support for the liberation struggle in Western Somalia is tantamount to claim on our part to Ethiopian territory. We want to emphasise that we have no claim on the territory of any States, but we are committed to the principle of liberation struggle of people's from colonial rule. It is necessary to emphasise here that the nature of the conflict in the Horn of Africa is a classical colonial case and not one of territorial integrity — a concept to which no one takes exception but which Ethiopia always invokes in an effort to secure legitimacy for her ill-gotten colonial Empire just like all other colonial powers did in the past.

Furthermore, in her continuous efforts to confuse Africa and world opinion about the nature of her colonial Empire, Ethiopia often invokes the O.A.U. Cairo Resolution of 1964 on borders inherited from

colonial rule. In answer to this Somalia's position is that:-

First, since the nature of Ethiopian rule over Western Somalia and Eritrea is a colonial one, the provisions of this resolution could become valid and applicable only when and as the process of decolonisation becomes complete in the area, that is to say when Ethiopia's colonial rule over these territories comes to an end.

Secondly, it is to be recalled that Somalia officially entered its reservation on this resolution at the time of its adoption.

Thirdly, it is indeed important and relevant to bear in mind that both in the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the 1964 Cairo meeting, it was made clear during the course of the deliberations by many delegations including that of Ethiopia that the matter under discussion and any decisions related to it would not be applicable to the Somali — Ethiopian dispute. Every one recognizes that this problem was in existence long before the establishment of the O.A.U. Consequently it was made clear during the course of the debate, that this resolution would apply only to new disputes arising between African States in future and had no relevance to outstanding ones. The verbatim records of both the Council and the Summit are quite explicit on this score.

Mr. Chairman,

On the Somali/Ethiopian question, permit me to reiterate that the Somali Government has always shown willingness to work towards the finding

of a just and peaceful solution to the existing conflict. Ever since the inception of the O.A.U the Government of the Somali Democratic Republic has always endeavoured to seek such a solution within the framework of the organization. It was as a result of this endeavour and the dangerous implications for peace in the area, that the question was discussed at the OAU summit of 1973, when a decision was taken to set up a Good-Offices Committee of 8 Heads of State, headed by Nigeria. It is unfortunate however, that after five years the committee has not been able to make any significant achievement or progress towards the resolution of the problem. One of the factors which hindered the Committee work is Ethiopia's intransigent and aggressive attitude.

In utter disregard of the most basic norms of international conduct, Ethiopia continues to repeatedly commit naked acts of aggression against my country. Since Nov. 1977, when Russian weapons and Cuban troops began to flow into Ethiopia. Ethiopian war planes have been mounting savage aerial attacks in urban areas inside Somalia. At the same time, heavy concentrations of Cuban/Ethiopian troops have taken place in key strategic locations close to the Somali Democratic Republic. In effect Ethiopia on the behest of her new allies and with over confidence in their support, is preparing for all-out invasion of my country. As a matter of fact Ethiopian leaders have made no secret of their aggressive intentions.

I would like to confirm that Somalia is prepared to defend her sovereignty and freedom against any invasion

from any quarter, but that is SWAPO. However, this should also our conviction that the interests of the two neighbouring countries and peoples of Somalia and Ethiopia lie in solving their problems bilaterally or under the auspices of O.A.U. taking into consideration the aspiration of the peoples of Western Somalia.

Somalia considers that the following conditions on essential basis for a progress towards a durable, just and peaceful settlement:-

- 1) Withdrawal of all foreign troops.
- 2) Cessation of all acts of aggression against the Somali Democratic Republic.
- 3) Cessation of genocidal activities against the population of Western Somalia.
- 4) Granting the right of self-determination for the people of Western Somalia.
- 5) To start negotiations between all the parties concerned.

Mr. Chairman,

Allow me at this juncture, to address myself to the question of decolonization and total liberation of our Continent. Though we may congratulate ourselves for the outstanding achievements we have made in this regard, we must however, resist the temptations of complacency and continue to direct our energies in support of the oppressed peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In all of them, white minority regimes are fighting vicious rearguard actions to preserve their colonialist and racist rule.

We welcome the news that a formula for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question has been found accepted by

not lead to any relaxation of the international effort to obtain true independence for Namibia. Each stage of the settlement agreement should be carefully monitored to ensure that the best interests of Namibian peoples are preserved.

The majority of us have rightly questioned the so-called internal settlement of the illegal Smith regime and its collaborators in Southern Rhodesia. The unacceptability of this arrangement is self evident in so far as progress to majority rule cannot be attained as long as the Patriotic Front remains outside such an arrangement.

We must all redouble our efforts in support and solidarity with our oppressed brothers in South Africa so that they may be able to sustain the revolutionary fervour in the country. We must also assist the liberation movements to close their ranks at this transitional stage, in order to co-ordinate their efforts and unity their action in the common cause of intensifying the liberation struggle. The U.N. security council must be urged to assume its responsibilities under the Charter to apply mandatory sanctions the racist regime of South Africa.

Mr. Chairman,

I would like now to turn to another burning issue of direct interest and concern to Africa namely the question of Palestine and the continued occupation of Arab lands by Zionist Israel. For nearly three decades peace has proven unattainable due to Israeli intransigence. The cause of peace and stability in the Middle East can best be served by total Israeli withdrawal from

all occupied Arab territories and the full realization of their legitimate national rights by the Palestinian people. All of us who desire peace in that area should work towards that goal.

While speaking about problems in the Arab World, it is pertinent to mention here the important relationship between that world and Africa. Both Africa and the Arab world have shared ideals and aspirations as well as a common destiny. The vast riches of our combined resources and their complementarity can be harnessed for the speedy development and progress of our respective peoples. Following the Cairo Afro-Arab Summit of March 1977, it is gratifying to observe that Afro-Arab cooperation has become a tangible reality.

We should exert every effort to further consolidate and strengthen our cooperation for the mutual benefit and prosperity of Africa and Arab peoples.

By way of conclusion would like to point out that Africa's failure to adequately cope with its problems is indicative of the fact that we are in a state of lethargy which has seriously weakened our ability and will, react firmly and promptly to matters affecting our most vital interests. This state of affairs, if allowed to continue, will invite further foreign intervention that will lead to a catastrophe, contrary to the aspirations of the African peoples. We, the present African Leaders will be held historically responsible.

The sense of dedication, militancy and unwavering determination which has served Africa's quest for total independence so well in the past,

has unhappily given way to reverse trend marked by a near abandonment of the values and ideals to which we had indicated ourselves.

In the past three or so years there is a discernable lack of confidence and a growing sense of insecurity in our organisation leading to a search for alliances outside Africa. Inter-African cooperation, solidarity and understanding, the corner-stones without which African Unity will remain an illusory goal, are facing serious challenges from the negative forces of hostility, confrontation and distrust. The processes which have led to the correct crisis in Africa, could have been halted provided that we were willing to face up squarely to our own problems with sincerity, courage, understanding and sense of justice without fear or favour.

Moreover, our Organization has failed to be responsive to growing demands of the present day continental and international situations. Since its inception in 1963, the membership of the OAU has greatly increased with the accession to national sovereignty by a large number of countries. In these fifteen years the political, economic, social progress achieved by African nations through individual effort, or in cooperation between themselves and other has greatly expanded the possibilities for the exploitation of our hitherto untapped vast human and

material resources.

The rising aspirations of Africa's millions is a direct out-come of the realization that we are a potentially rich and powerful Continent. In the political arena, the dramatic changes and developments which have occurred since the inception of the OAU, continue to pose serious challenges to the OAU's capacity to serve as an effective organ which can adequately cope with these challenges.

In our estimation the OAU has fallen way short of our expectations as a vehicle for the realization of genuine independence, peace, progress and unity among African peoples, primarily because the OAU Charter can no longer serve as an instrument that can satisfactorily cope with Africa's present needs. The inward-looking nature of the Charter can not serve to respond to the changed times.

If the OAU is to become a dynamic and efficient organization, the Charter should be revised, in order to render it more responsive to the pressing issues of African development, progress, peace, cooperation and unity.

I do not consider it too late in the day to rally our forces and close our ranks in solid opposition to the enemy onslaught which appears to have breached our lines in a number of strategic places.

The entire world was focused on this crucial Assembly, in order to discover whether Africans are capable of assuming full control over their own affairs. Our peoples in our respective countries are anxious to see whether we, as their representatives, can translate their inner most aspirations for independence, freedom and dignity into concrete and meaningful action.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention here the successful conference of reconciliation that was held in Monrovia recently, thanks to the wisdom of:

President Senghor
President Doaud Diawara
President William Tolbert
President Houphouet Boigny
President Ahmed Sekou Toure
President Eyadema

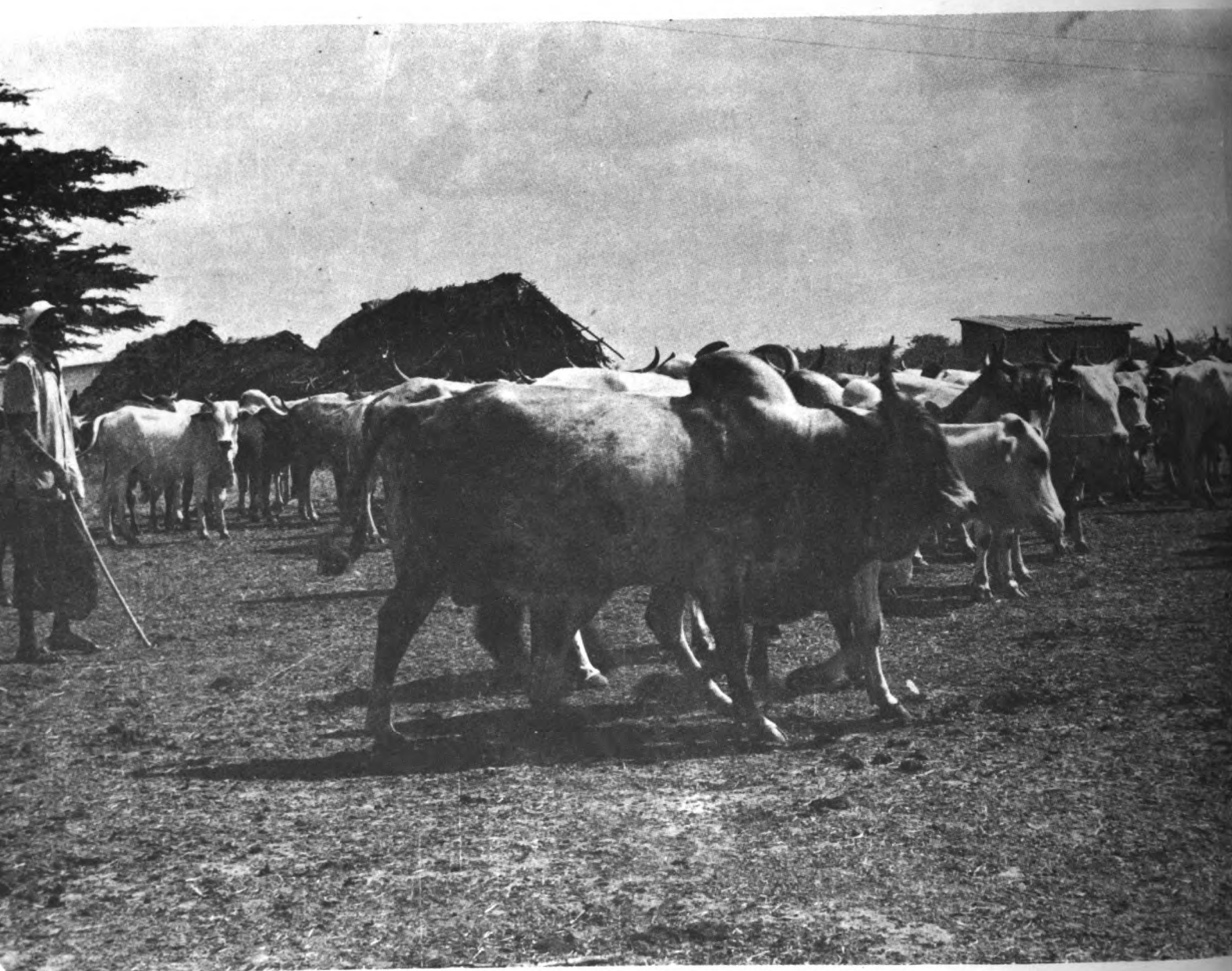
Who have all contributed to achieving this victory.

May I renew my grateful thanks to President Jafar Ni-meiri, his Government and people for the efficient organization of the Conference which will certainly contribute to the success of the 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

LONG LIVE AFRICA
LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SUDAN
VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



SOMALI NURSES IN TRAINING



LIVESTOCK: BACKBONE OF THE SOMALI ECONOMY

HALGAN



(THE STRUGGLE)

ORGAN OF THE SOMALI
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

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* Jaalle Siad's October Address

- * On the Socialist Path
- * Science, Technology and Development
- * Imperialism and Technology
- * Revolutionary Development of the
Somali Language
- * Halgan Anniversary

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

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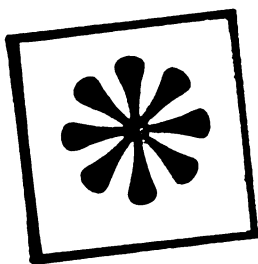
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EDITORIAL

The 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution

The Somali nation celebrates at this time of the year the birth of the 21st October Revolution. However, this year's celebrations will be different from the previous ones in consideration of the lengthy period during which the Revolution efficiently held the reigns of the state and because this lengthy period permits a better evaluation of the results of the efforts made throughout this period.

The Revolution of 21st October 1969, led by Jaalle Mahamed Siad Barre, was made inevitable by the material conditions created by the malpractices perpetrated at the time by the neo-colonial politicians and their allies. The «clique» that came to power after the national independence dismally failed to realise the national aspirations and, indeed, destroyed the formed achievements of the national struggle the people's rights were violated, those in power took advantage of their positions, used national resources as their own personal property and reduced the people to mere servants.

On the international side, the conditions were positively good. The liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America had attained their goals and the socialist and revolutionary nations were experiencing greater development.

The Revolutionary government which decreed the social freedom in the country and declared its opposition to imperialism, found it necessary to join the progressive and socialist forces of the world so as to be safe from the threats forthcoming from the colonialists and their lackeys and, at the same time, implement the revolutionary reforms for the development of the country.

The Revolution of 21st October set out to bring about:

- (1) A complete socialist transformation of the society and
- (2) Support the liberation of the Somali nation still under colonial yoke.

Concerning the realization of the first objective, the Revolution chose the progressive road which constituted the only means to safeguard the interest of the toiling masses and to assure the permanence of the progressive endeavours. It guided the masses on the path to socialism in order to assure social justice. Thus socialism was adapted to the particular conditions of the country.

This choice was not made haphazardly, but was a deliberate one and was based on both the Third world and the Somali experiences which clearly indicate that capitalism failed to solve the many problems of the developing countries. Capitalism is the system which fostered imperialism and neo-colonialism and is characterized by exploitation, looting and subjugation.

That is why the Revolution of 21st October was convinced that it would not be possible to find solutions to the social problems, of the political and economic backwardness and that it would not as well be possible to attain the progressive national goals and the people's aspirations without following the right direction towards socialism.

Accordingly, the Revolution adopted measures aimed at creating the necessary objective and subjective basis for socialist edification. These measures reached their apex when the public economic sector was consolidated.

The consolidation of the economic sector is one of the greatest achievements of the Revolution of 21st October and constitutes a means for social development.

The changes brought about by the Revolution in the social sector were opposed by the foreign reactionaries, i.e. Imperialism, which tried to destroy the Revolution and take Somalia back under their influence, these revolutionary forces were also opposed by internal forces consisting of the «Compradore» groups and the ideologically backward people, who lost the political preminence and the prestige they used to enjoy and who tried to mislead the Revolution then, if possible, to overthrow it. These internal reactionaries were taking advantage of the fair opportunities offered to them by the Revolution to encourage them to show a changed attitude and trustworthiness. However, they would not desist from their reactionary views but continued to try to undo the Revolution.

As regards the achievements in the political and ideological involvement of the masses it is worthwhile to underline that in a short period, a revolutionary cadre which firmly believes in the revolution and in socialism developed. This was not easily achieved, many a problem was encountered at the base of which were the unholding of private interests and demagoguery with the intention of ultimately creating confusion and chaos.

All of these show that the 21st October Revolution encountered difficulties in establishing firm concepts and in their implementation. These should serve as useful lessons for the future.

As concerns the second objective of the Revolution, it must be said that as it directly related to the Somali cause and to the liberation of the Somali people it meant giving support to liberation movements of the Somalis still under col-

onialism. The Revolution endeavoured to find a solution to the problems which originated from the partition and colonization of Somalia effected by the European powers which accepted and encouraged Abyssinian participation in this action.

On this question, Somalia could not reach an understanding with certain countries which entertained with her relationship of solidarity and cooperation. Those countries actions were detrimental to our national position to the extent that they intervened in the war between the Western Somali Liberation Movement and colonialist Abyssinia by taking the sides of the latter.

This was the reason why the Party's Central Committee of Somalia decided in November 1977 to revoke the treaty of friendship and cooperation existing between Somalia and the USSR and to sever the diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The question of the Horn of Africa and the position adopted by the foreign and internal forces may give rise to several queries. One of the questions which may be asked is: Why does Somalia support the liberation movements of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea? The answer is that Somalia supports them in accordance with its support of a just principle, that is the right of the people to self-determination.

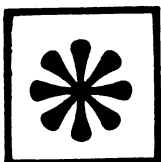
Another question that may be raised is: Why did Somalia feel disappointed when some of the countries which had friendly ties with her and which normally support the liberation movements did not take up the cause of the Somali Nation.

Well, this case demonstrates the conflicting interests of the various countries independently of friendship and proclaimed ideology.

On the other hand certain internal forces tried to take advantage of the present political situation. The government and the people of Somalia decree in his 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution, that the edification of a society that implements social justice and equality can be achieved only through socialism geared to our interests. The road is not an easy one but it is a long and tough and involves many difficulties. That requires the improvement of our political performance while paying due attention to the interests of our masses. The adoption of this principle does not preclude the peace. The adoption of this principle does not preclude the establishment of cooperation and commercial ties with all the countries of the world which respect our national integrity and the policy that we chose to promote our socio-economic development.

The long struggle waged by the Somali nation is not aim merely to attain an independence void of content but social freedom and progress as well.

Thus, the 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution becomes the torch that enlightens the road to socialist national edification.



The 2nd Anniversary

The first issue of HALGAN appeared two years ago, in October 1976. HALGAN, the official organ of the Central Committee of the SRSP, was born four months after the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

During the past two years, HALGAN has continued to play an active role as the official mouthpiece of the SRSP. HALGAN has conveyed and explained Party policies, decisions and directives.

HALGAN has continued to carry informed articles on various aspects of Somali political, economic, social and cultural life.

During the past year in particular, HALGAN has printed several articles and editorials on the conflict in the Horn of Africa. HALGAN has sought to throw light on the historical roots of the problem, the nature of Ethiopian feudal-Colonial system and the character of the anti-colonial resistance against it symbolized by the Western Somali, Abbo and Eritrean national liberation struggles. HALGAN has resolutely stood for the right of self-determination and independence of the colonized peoples of the Horn. HALGAN has demonstrated that the dangerous turmoil in the Horn of Africa is a consequence of interventionism brought about by the Addis Ababa Clique's colonialist policies and practices.

HALGAN has also published several articles in support of the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and the Arab people of Palestine.

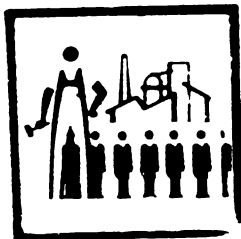
HALGAN, in cooperation with the distribution division of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance, has resolved the question of national distribution. HALGAN presently regularly circulates in all districts of the Somali Democratic Republic. There is still need to resolve outstanding obstacles hindering the effective international circulation of HALGAN.

The regular distribution of HALGAN within the SDR helps to provide useful reading material in the struggle to combat illiteracy. The Somali edition of HALGAN continues to play an effective role in the technical and literary development of the Somali language.

Right from its inception, HALGAN has served to inspire the publication of various other journals and publications. A number of these have appeared in Somali in the regions of the Republic. July 17, 1978 saw the birth of HEEGAN, (Vigilance) an English language weekly of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance. The HALGAN English language editorial staff were highly instrumental in facilitating the launching of HEEGAN.

HALGAN continues to defend the rights of the Somali masses and inspire them to their revolutionary duties. HALGAN will continue to expose all the lies and intrigues of Imperialism Colonialism, Zionism and Racism. It will continue to wage an active role in defence of the Somali experience in socialist-oriented development and non - alignment.

POLITICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS



The Somali Revolution: on the Socialist Path

By - Ibrahim Meygag Samater
Member of the C.C. of the
S.R.S.P

It is not quite easy to adequately evaluate a historical period of great changes in the life of a nation such as the period beginning with October, 1969 in the case of the Somali people. Should one get involved in the mass of details that constitute the change: such as the myriad projects that have been started in all the fields, the change in the number of the gainfully employed, the increase in production, the increase in the number of school leavers in the different levels of the educational hierarchy, etc? Or should one concentrate on the main trends of the change? Either approach has its own shortcomings: the former tends to lose the trees for the forest, while the latter in its attempts to generalize may miss some of the measures which in themselves may be details but nevertheless are so crucial as to form a qualitative change. The choice of approach is dictated by the purpose or aim to list the achievements of the Revolution in the various fields. One must of necessity choose the former approach. Since our aim, here, is to show briefly the qualitative change from a neo-colonial structure to a socialist one brought about by the October Revolution we will have to be selective in our approach.

One of the first questions

that faced the Revolution in its inception was: is a socialist path of development appropriate within the conditions of Somalia? To answer such a question requires a serious look at the historical background, the international and external conditions of the country, in order to fully assess its present needs and how those needs could best be fulfilled.

The events that dominated Somali history for the past 90 years are not very much different from those that affected the rest of Africa: domination by the expanding European capitalist countries, the disruption of their societies and the divisions of the various existing entities into new unnatural units, the distortion of their cultures, and the subsequent tying of their economic and cultural growth to that of the controlling metropolis. In fact it would be a gross misrepresentation to speak in such circumstances of economic and cultural growth. What happened was a distortion and destruction of a massive scale. We can just imagine (if one can really do so) the disastrous effects of the forcible removal of several hundred million or so slaves, specially young people, from the continent on the social human organism of is known: in short the destru-

ction of the dynamism of the old societies, together with the super imposition of new structures that were in no way intended to provide a new synthesis.

Such, in brief, is the general story of imperialist domination in Africa though, needless to say, there were local varieties and differences such as the fact that Somalia did not experience the notorious slave trade, but on the other hand had more than its share of the irrational division of a natural national entity into artificial units.

Naturally in the history of societies each phenomenon per force, generates its own countervailing force. And it was no wonder that colonial society created an intensive reaction against it in its exploited subjects. The history of the Liberation struggle against colonialism and imperialism in Somalia as well as the rest of Africa, is too well known to be repeated here. The point to emphasize here is that when the masses were conducting this valiant struggle their aspirations were not only to get rid of foreign rule, but to revamp the whole rotten framework, and make their own history by building their societies a new on an equitable basis.

However the situation developed in such away that the whole struggle was emptied of its dynamic content after the expulsion of foreign rule. The roots laid by imperial exploitation were so deep that they could not be uprooted easily by the change in political form. Thus the continuation of the old structures in neo-colonial forms.

Such was the situation the Revolution faced in October 1969. The disastrous situation of the country at that time: Lack of political and national unity, the disruption of internal security, corruption, and the lack of the will to develop is too well-known and has been told many times to repeat here now. The point we emphasize here is that any programme to correct past ills and develop the country would have been superficial unless the basic issues were touched. And these could only be tackled in a new way that is to say in a socialist way. Such was the reasoning, and such was the choice of the Revolution.

The choice of a path is not only an exercise of will, but the actual fulfilment of that choice is dictated by the prevailing conditions. Though socialist development is a universal phenomenon, yet the path, pace and tempo of that development is determined by the actual circumstances. Aside from being a neo-colonial country enmeshed in the tentacles of world capitalism, the particular conditions of Somalia were wellknown: Lack of an industrial working class, the prevalence of the nomadic way of life and the consequent way of the clan system, lack of a written language and thus the existence of widespread illiteracy, albeit rich with oral culture.

In such circumstances the transformation to the building of a socialist society had to be both cautious and long-range mixing, as it did, measures affecting both the superstructure and the economic base.

The first measure was the political step of getting rid of the neo-colonial institutions that were an obstacle to development such as the political parties and the Parliament.

The Second measure was the laying of an economic base for socialist development. This area was indeed a most difficult one, considering how dependent Somalia was, and still is, on foreign assistance is not an evil, but in fact self-reliant, can be a good thing provided it is compiled with a national programme that aims at building an integrated, self-reliant self-sustaining economy. Before the Revolution the country had gone through some «plans» whose implementation was negligible. To ensure serious implementation of a programme entails national control of one's resources. Hence the Revolution before it even embarked on its first economic programme of 1971-73, nationalized the salient features of the economy that were in foreign hands: the banking system and other financial institutions, the fuel distributing system, and two main factories existing at that time. Later on, again, it became essential to concentrate foreign trade in the hands of the state so as to avoid speculating on the people's needs. It was then possible to continue programme of development and change, the most serious one of which is the now ending programme of 1974-78 whose main aim, aside from raising national production, is to strengthen the state sector and develop

the co-operative movement, thus laying the basis for a sound development of a socialist economy.

The third most important measure in the process of transformation was in the political and social field. Naturally, the institutions that were revamped had to be replaced by new ones of a new type that can answer the needs of social progress. But this can not be done overnight. The people must be made aware of the need for them. Thus the long saga of political orientation and education in which the Revolution was engaged since the first day. This activity of political education was combined with a series of self-help campaigns, the biggest of which were the literacy campaign and the struggle against the drought and the subsequent resettlement schemes.

Thus during a long process of mutual self-education the leadership of the Revolution and the people were able to evolve the new institutions that could carry on the revolutionary change—these are the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and the mass organisations affiliated with it.

Today, after a struggle of nine years, we have the basic requirements for continuing the building of socialism and the elimination of imperial vestiges and backwardness. We have a programme that envisages the building of a state economic sector and co-operatives, we have the Party that must guide that programme, and we have the organised masses that can implement and defend it.

I do not say that the work has been completed. Nothing is further from the truth. We are still poor, we are still con-

forented with hard difficulties we still have to continue building the remaining institutions of the new democracy such as the peoples assemblies.

But what I do say is that October Revolution 1969, has started and achieved in Somalia a revolutionary change that can never be retracted. The

struggle simply has to continue generation after generation untill we achieve the society of unity, peace and progress.

On Science, Technology and Development

By, H. Mohamed Adan

The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTED) is scheduled to take place in Vienna in September 1979. Most countries are now midway through the preparatory process for the Conference. African countries have attended a preparatory seminar on the subject held in Cairo recently. The first draft on the Somali National paper for UNCSTED has just been prepared by specialists drawn from various agencies under the auspices of the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture.

HALGAN plants to monitor UNCSTED preparations as part of an effort to create national decisions on this crucial issue of science and technology for development. In order to initiate such a debate, we publish these notes in addition to the following article on «Imperialism and Technology».

Such a debate have policy implications. It could, for example, lead the SDR to adopt a long-range policy on Science and Technology and have it formulated in a specific Resolution. In the long run, such measures would facilitate the establishment and strengthening of a relevant national climate committed to the use of this capability: These being the essential conditions for the ef-

fective utilisation of science and technology for development.

In order to stimulate thoughts on the utilisation of science and technology for development, it is vital to clarify the meaning which revolutionary Somalia attaches to the term «Development».

For a long time, development has simply been equated with growth and measured in terms of the Gross National Product. However, far more important than the magnitude of growth, is its structure and the distribution of its benefits. Indeed, Third World experience has shown that distorted capitalist growth under colonialism and neocolonialism does not lead to development; on the contrary, it causes the perpetuation of dependency, (including technological dependency) and under-development. Perverse capitalist growth in third world countries has led to serious disparities between the rich and the poor and between urban and rural areas and also between the races, eg. whites and blacks in South Africa.

The main aim of socialist oriented development is to reduce economic inequalities. The priority of such development is to identify the needs

of the masses and satisfy these needs. Among such basic human needs we mention: Food, Clothing, Shelter, Health, Education; Transport, Communication and Employment.

Socialist-oriented development implies social participation and control. The principal goal is a self-reliant society in which people participate in and control the decisions which affect their lives and destinies. For, it is only when the people assume such responsibilities, and acquire the opportunity to discharge these responsibilities, that their creative energies are released for constructive change and the road to exploitation and inequalities is blocked.

Socialist-oriented development also implies ecological balance which alone will ensure that the development process is sustainable over the long run, instead of being thwarted by the inevitable environmental impacts of the process itself. In this and other issues, we are able to profit from the experience of others.

Development implies the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. Each one of these activities requires an interaction with nature, and in fact a

manipulation of nature or parts of it. This manipulation, which is the basis of industry and agriculture and the services, involves an accumulation of social experience and knowledge which constitutes technology either in hardware form such as tools, machines, equipment or in software form: skills, motivation and organisation, i.e. ways of utilising tools and machines.

Moreover, technology itself invariably uses, besides other factors, an understanding of nature in short, Science. Thus, development objectives cannot be achieved without the deployment of technology and application of science.

THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

The harnessing of Science and Technology to development can be achieved either by importing technology into a society from external sources or by generating it in the society itself. Historically speaking third World countries have experienced technology transfers from beyond their borders. As an aspect of imperialism under its various historical forms, colonialism and neocolonialism, this has implied the negation of political and economic independence and self-reliance. To a large extent, technological transfers have been a tool used to perpetuate distorted capitalist growth, i.e. to perpetuate under-development.

For many years to come, most of the less developed countries (LDC) will have negative technological balance of payments. According to one study, the payment just for the licences by LDC to the developed countries amounted in early 1970's to over 1.5 billion dollars.

The cost of the total technology transfer would be much larger.

Technology transfer involves politics. Whether dealing with products or processes, technological transfer involves bargaining and negotiating, with the owner of the hardware and know-how. Accordingly, it involves knowledge of the market, of the position and willingness to trade of the possible actors in the exchange.

Technology transfer implies corruption. Recently, the «Lockhead Scandal» came to dramatize this aspect of the interaction. Corruption is widely used in all aspects of technology transfer of all kinds, products and processes, by all types of firms from all kinds of countries, large and small.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We should use the occasion of UNCTED 1979 as a basis to raise crucial questions pertaining to the harnessing of Science and technology for developing Somalia. It is necessary to launch an international campaign against the distorted, corrupt manipulation of science and technology

A principled and policy-oriented discussion of this burning issue should seek to find ways and means of reducing dependence on foreign technology and repair whatever social problems it may already have caused. The discussion should also focus on the criterion for the selection of alternative technologies through an assessment of, for example: cheapness, smallness, based on local resources, in increasing human participation, creating employment, not harmful to health, accepting women, the

handicapped and old people in the work process. Without being exceedingly onesided, it is important to advocate technologies of human scale, whether as regards size, energy consumption, speed, etc.

We do have to develop institutions in order to improve the mechanisms for the exchange of scientific and technological information and experience significant for our socialist oriented development.

We also have to discuss better ways and means of international cooperation in order to bring about a healthy climate of technological transfer.

Does the call for more scientific research and technology serve to divert attention from the economic, social, and political obstacles to satisfying basic needs and providing meaningful employment for all? Is there not a real danger that UNCTED will contribute to a legitimization of technological solutions to social problems — «Technical Fixes» — leaving the root causes of underdevelopment (and over development) untouched?

Somalia must struggle, jointly with other Third World countries to see to it that UNCTED deals with the real causes, not merely the symptoms of underdevelopment.

Imperialism and Technology

We present this critical article to be viewed as a debate among progressive forces under the guidance of the SRSP. The focus of the paper is on technology and imperialism, a subject of analysis which is topical today, but whose roots are to be found in the historical past.

When we speak of this contemporary topic, we refer to the dependency of the formerly colonised continent by the technology of the imperialist countries. This dependency is also dialectically linked with the development-underdevelopment conditions of this two different worlds. When we mention the historical past the fact is that capitalism and its corollary colonialism which we consider as an historical evil, the source of present-day dependency, is the historical product of the industrial Revolution in Europe. This throws light on the fact that the technical-scientific revolutions and exploitation of raw materials and cheap labour in the past centuries are closely interdependent, so much so that one cannot be explained without the other.

There is the first stage of capital accumulation, which Marx defines as «Primitive accumulation of capital». There is, then, colonization, which Marx refers to as «the genesis of industrial capital»¹. This, we must add, is where we must look for the actual historical causes of the dependency in which the countries of the so-called Third World find

themselves; for this dependency was born in womb of industrial capitalism. Inescapable, colonial capitalism, by advocating everywhere the so-called principles of free competition, simultaneously favours inequality in the terms of unequal exchange.

It is unequal exchange that brings the exploitation of man by man to its climax: It represents the very essence of colonialism, the very essence of underdevelopment namely a state of total dependency.

On this subject, we would quote Geoffrey Kay, 2 whose argument is, briefly, as follows the underdeveloped world constituted an indispensable Source of much needed factors of production (Labour, raw materials) first and foremost raw materials among them cotton, by far the most important raw material during most of the XIX century. Later on, as industrial production soared in the developed countries, greater importance was given to other commodities such as rubber, tin, bauxite, copper, etc. These raw materials were not only indispensable for the production process, they also offered

if purchased cheaply, direct means to sustain against any falling tendency of the rate of profit. In the words of professor Kay, industrial capital saw in the underdeveloped world a large potential market which would permit not only to obtain the surplus value extracted from the labour force in the deve-

loped countries, but also increases by the social product appropriating of the monopoly capitalist countries through unequal exchange in the terms of trade, i.e. by selling on those markets at higher than justified by the value of the goods offered for sale. At the same time, profits were also increased by a reverse process, again made possible by the unequal exchange i. e. by purchasing raw materials and foodstuffs for less than their actual value. Mercantile capital, with its long experience in this kind of transactions, appeared as its ideal agent: This is the primary reason for the substantial degree of independence it succeeded in preserving in this field.

Thus, we speak of historical conditions, for we are fully aware that we cannot speak of the dependency and underdevelopment of the continents of the damned, left to poverty as a result of being ravaged by the imperialist countries.

It is an objective fact that the *raison D'être* of imperialism is based on the logic of the unequal exchange and the principle of division of labour. Let us now examine closely the impact of technological dependency on the development: underdevelopment of the Third World, on the premise that underdevelopment is not an original condition, but is the result of the expansion of capital from its places of origin, in the form of mercantile capital which appropriates the surplus value from less Developing Countries

(LDC) without transforming the mode of production, except in a marginal distorted capitalist way. In our day, particularly after the attainment of formal political independence by many countries of the So-called «Third World», International public opinion emphasizes the importance of technological transfer to the developing countries, and the intellectual circles hold debates on the technological dependency of the emerging countries. Concern about dependency, which acts as a hinderance of economic and socio-political development, has led many scholars to formulate under development theories which examine the historical and economic links between underdeveloped and developed world. In other words, these are theories of the political economy of neo-colonialism, an extension of the Marxist theory which asserts that the emerging countries cannot develop as long as they are dependent on international capitalism. 3

On the other side, since it is a duty to ensure better living conditions for people under subsistence economy, the problem of underdevelopment has received attention from many governments but the problem persists and, becomes more acute. 4 Accusing imperialism and the activities of the multinationals as far as the transfer of technology is concerned and its influence on economic development in general will not help: What one must do is to discover the mechanism of technological imperialism which hinders the independent development of the emerging countries. 5

When we refer to the technological transfer, we refer to a unilateral, asymmetrical form

of dependency, which cannot be compared with technological interdependence, such as for instance the technological relationship between the U.K and the U.S.A.

Having established this basic difference between interdependence and total dependence on western technology, it becomes obviously necessary to analyze the effects of this new phenomenon (i. e. the technological phenomenon) on the autonomous development of the emerging countries. A faster rate of appropriate technological transfer and the utilization of the correct type of technology locally are important for speeding up development in these countries, where after the attainment of formal independence, it was eventually realized that the colonial system did not help meet their need and aspirations and that the only thing to do was to change the system of distribution of dependent national wealth as a means to improve the living standard of the people. Let us then admit frankly that the political regimes in these countries still fail as they have failed in the past, to understand that one cannot speak of a system of distribution of wealth in a neo-colonial context, for such distribution is entirely dominated by the powerful multinationals. Moreover, there is no sense in advocating any change in the system of distribution of wealth unless there is a change in the existing economic structure and social institutions we must always focus on production relations in order to get at the root, of the problems.

Let us ask ourselves, then: What are the multinationals? A UN report 6 defines them as companies and corporatio-

ns exercising their activities in several countries, but the Canadian economist Stephen Hymer goes beyond this and defines them as the channels through which a country can exercise pressure on another. Thus the multinationals are the tools of imperialism and imperialism means, as we know, exploitation on a worldwide scale.

An additional feature of the multinationals, Hymer 7 says, is that, as a rule, they are the product of the developed countries. Although the lack of statistical data on the activities of the multinationals in many developing countries, obscures the fact, still the high degree of concentration of the parent corporations, in the developed countries indicates a clear picture.

The cause par excellence of the technological gap between developing and underdeveloped countries is caused by the colonial penetration, followed by colonial interference in the traditional economies, leading to the destruction of traditional technologies. Thus the all-devouring technology of the West is the genesis of capital accumulation. From this thesis it can be concluded that there exist two «worlds», one technologically advanced, the other technologically backward, the development of the former having caused the underdevelopment of the latter. This dependency on the developed economies shows a clearly asymmetric pattern.

The capitalist system is a worldwide industrial system whose major agents are the multinationals. It is a system which enjoys the support of the developed as well as the underdeveloped countries, in view of its role, i. e. Maximization of profit and appropriation of the surplus value pro-

duced in the developing countries by the multinationals, in order to accumulate and capitalise it in the imperialist countries. On the other hand, the essential feature of the capitalist system is always the maintenance of conditions of inequality, both at national and at international level. It is, then, clear that the more the developing countries are integrated in the world capitalist system, the more they will become dependent on international imperialism.

The industrialization of the developing countries becomes a myth, unless care is taken to rationalize the imported technology adjusting it to environmental conditions; hence it is pure mystification i.e. unless due account is taken of its negative impact on small and handicraft industries and on traditional technologies.

A question often raised is whether there can be real technological transfer unless the multinationals guarantees the transfer scientific know how to the developing countries, and provide the developing countries with their patents rights and secret formulas.

Today the multinationals constitute the most advanced type of organization for industrial and financial capital, in the present stage of imperialism.

As it appears from the foregoing debate, we pose on the one hand the problem of technological dependency although we don't propose any definite way out from this difficult situation in which the developing countries are confronted with. We are not also building the bridge, which the development countries are go-

ing to cross. On the other hand we note in the discussions that references are made to the so-called new economic order, of which in the opinion of Professor Erminio Raiter, a definition is slowly and laboriously being arrived at 9.

But in our opinion it is not so much a definition that is being worked out, but a title of one of the many dramas the many dramas enacted by international imperialism, it is a drama in which one of the actors quotes dramatically the following passage from *To Istoi*: I sit on the back of a man, suffocating him and forcing him to carry me, at the same time I assure to myself and others that I am full of pity for him and wish to improve the man's lot by every possible means except dismounting his back.»

NOTE:

1: K. Marx, *II Capitale*, 1.3. P 171, 225 Roma

22. Geoffrey Kay, *Sviluppo, un'analisi Marxista*, P.109, Feltrinelli, 1975, Milano

3. A.G. Frank, *America Latina Sottosviluppato Rivoluzione*, PP.23-38, Einaudi

4. Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya, the political economy of neocolonialism*, P.7, Heinemann, London.

5. P. Assette Kuuya, *Transfer technology an overview of the Tanzanian case Africa development*, II Vol N. 2p. 48, 1977, Dakar.

6. *Multinational corporations in world develop-*

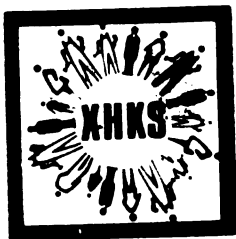
ment, UN New York, p.4, Sale No. 73. II A. 11 1973.

6. *Multinational corporations in world development*, UN New York, p.4 Sale No. 73. II A 11 1973.

7. Stephen Hymer, *Le imprese Multinazionali*, Einaudi, pp. 63, 1974 veda anche A. H. Yare *società multinazionale e paesi in via di sviluppo*, Nuova Era. N. 29, GENNAIO 1976, Mogadiscio.

8. Hymer, OP. CIT. PP 63-64.

9. Prof. Erminio Raiatteri, *Sul problema della formazione tecnico-scientifica nei paesi in via di sviluppo in Cilmi iyo Farsamo*, P.5, rivista Dell'Università Nazionale della Somalia N. 1. 1978, Mogadiscio.



PARTY LIFE

Jaalle Siad Addresses Party Functionaries

The Secretary General of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre on 21st September 1978, attended the usual morning of the Party General Committee Functionaries at the People's Hall.

The meeting which is held every morning from 7.00 — 8.00 and attended by Party and Social Organisations functionaries is a forum where these functionaries and the State functionaries exchange informations and ideas.

The assistant Secretary General of the SRSP; Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, had on behalf of the chairman of the Central Committee Bureaus and functionaries welcomed the Secretary General and briefed him on the activities of the Bureaus and the importance of such meetings held at the Party Headquarters.

The Secretary General, on the Occasion, addressed the attendants and spoke widely on the Party and State Policies both internally and externally. He also cited the achievements reached during the past nine years of Revolution and the problems encountered. Jaalle Siad referred back to the

cordial relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union in the past days and the cause of their break off. He said when the present Soviet leaders antagonised the Somali people and openly confronted the legitimate rights of the peoples of the Horn of Africa, particularly the people of Somali West, Abbo and Eritrea who are fighting for their self-determination, and when the Somali Democratic Republic by fulfilling its obligations to Liberation Movements, consistently gave moral and material support to the Liberation Movements representing those peoples, did the relations between the two countries cease to fulfill.

The President reiterated that the Somali Democratic Republic will always keep in line its Policies with the principles of Scientific Socialism and regard any body against this as a real enemy to the Somali Nation. When stressing on this point, the Secretary General was aiming at the reactionary elements who these days reactivated their underground movements with which they are fighting the Revolution, destroying the achievements of

the Nation and planning to take the country back to the hands of the imperialists and neo-colonialists.

In order to confuse the people, these elements nowadays circulate baseless rumors saying that Somalia deviated from the Socialist way of development as this path proved unsuccessful and a clear example of this is the break up of relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union. On the other hand Jaalle Siad deplored certain groups whom he described as the infantile leftists and who are not clear about the Socialist motivations and the political steps necessitated by local conditions, the basis of Socialist principles and one's strategic aims. These points contribute to the ideas saying that any Government that abandons Soviet Policies cannot construct Socialism. He called on these groups to know more about the reality.

Jaalle Siad in general discussed the particular conditions and situations under which the Revolution is going and the tasks that the Party and Social organisations are supposed to fulfill.

On 12th September 1978 Party cells that is of the SRSP were established in all the productive places within the Capital city of Mogadishu.

The task of establishing Party cells came after two years of the foundation of SRSP in all Regions, Districts and Quarters (That is residential level). This was followed by the foundation of the social organizations such as, the General Federation of Somali Trade Unions, Somali Youth Revolutionary Organization, Somali Women Democratic Organization and the Organizations of the Somali Cooperative Movement. Infact social organizations were formerly established in both residential and production level. Thus the establishment of the party cells in the productive sectors makes the building of Party Structure as a complete one.

The Importance of the Party cell lies in its importance of being the lowest base in the structure of the party of the new type. In terms of the hierarchical structure of the Party, it is the lowest base which has grass root connection with the masses and where most Party works are done.

The Party programme specifically mentions the fact that every Party member is duly bound to participate actively in its works. Therefore, the Party cell is an organ of the Party whereby all Party members are involved in the works which demonstrate the Quality and the Calibre of each Party member.

It is to be noted that Socialist parties give due importance to the workers involved in the productive sectors of the economy. The reason

being the decisive role played by the workers in the development of the productive capacities of their societies. That is why it is imperative to give the emphasises to the Party cells in the productive sectors of the economy. The function of the Party cells is to connect the higher party organs with the workers, peasants intellectuals etc. This connection makes possible for the Party of the new type in the implementation of its duties dealing with increasing the productive capacity of its Society and raising the living standard of the workers.

Therefore among the basic duties of the party cell are the following:-

1. Streghtening and safeguarding the vanguard role of party members in creasing the productive capabilities of the country and as well taking active role in its political life.

2. Recruitment and training of new Party members.

3. Instilling the principles of Scientific Socialism in the minds of new members, their mobilisation, leading the theory of Scientific Socialism, fighting against opportunism and factionalism.

4. Being vanguard members extending a helping hand to the workers unions in the Socialist competition for increasing production.

5. The inspection and control of the implementation of the work plan of the Ministries concerned and safeguarding public property.

6. Assisting higher Party organs in terms of works and the transmission of a permanent report and as well to the executive Committees of the Social organizations concerning the performance of their committees in the productive sectors or work section.

Above all, the work connected in the establishment of the party cells in Mogadishu has been successfully completed. The method used was the nomination method mentioned in the constitution of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. For example in places where party members were less than fifteen members a secretary and an assistant have been selected. While in places having higher than the above number a cells committee has been established with a secretary and an assistant.

In the formation of the Party Cells Cadres from the SRSP Headquarter were present. They gave instructions dealing with the Party works and the duties expected from its cell members. Members of the Party cells have manifested a revolutionary spirit in the execution of their responsibilities. We wish them success and progress.

The Importance of Party Cells

By - Mohamed Dahir Afrah

Hailing the 9th Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution

Mass celebrations were held on September 30th in all the orientation centres of Banadir Region in preparation for the 9th anniversary of the 21st October Revolution.

In the above celebrations speeches were delivered by SRS Party Cadres from its headquarter. They touched on the various achievements made, by the 21st October Revolution in all aspects of life since its inception.

However, this year anniversary is significant one, for it entail the stocktaking of nine years of revolutionary struggle. Likewise, it is logical to compare the above nine years of revolutionary achievements with the preceding nine years of corruptive governments.

Therefore, the lectures delivered by the Party Cadres centred on the theme of the multivarious achievements made by the 21st October Revolution in the fields of economical, political and social developments.

From the political aspects references were made to the three charters of the Revolution spelling the political direction of the revolution. The dynamic role played by the Public Relation Office later changed

to the Political Office of the Presidency of SRC in the development of the consciousness and as well the mobilisation of the Somali masses in the execution of the Revolution Programme dealing with the socio-economical and political development of the country.

As a matter of fact, the tremendous work undertaken by the political office Paved the way for the foundation of the SRSP and its social organizations. Also it meant the resurgence or the rebirth of the 21st October Revolution.

On the other hand, connecting development in the economic field emphasises were laid on the development of the economic sources of the country. That is in its various sectors agriculture, livestock, fisheries and industrialisation.

Special references were made to the nationalisation of major economic sectors owned by foreign companies such as banks, electric and sugar plants. The establishment of cooperatives numbering 337 in the productive sector. The step undertaken in the industrial sector and as well the settlements of the nomads in the fertile lands between the two rivers and along the coastal shores of Indian Ocean.

These settlements today represent a prototype agro-fishery communities of the new Somalia.

But the most outstanding achievements made in the social sectors was the writing of the Somali language which herald cultural Revolution at the grass roots level. A two phase campaign dealing with the learning and the dissimination of the script of the Somali language was initiated in the urbanised areas of Somalia. Later, after one year the Rural Development Campaign was initiated throughout the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic. This Campaign was the most vaible work undertaken by the Revolution at the grass root level in fighting the three enemies of mankind, hunger, disease, and ignorance. Accordingly, the writing of the Somali language represent one of the outstanding achievement made by the revolution for the benefit of the Somali people.

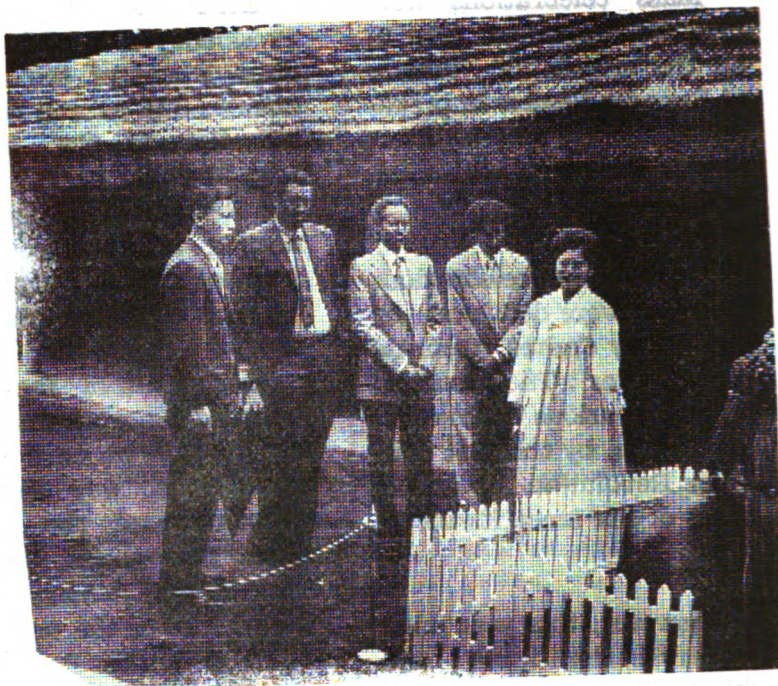
The immense achievements made by the Somali people under the guidance of their revolution can not be counted here. However, it is a certain thing that the Somali people are ready to make more sacrifices for the development of their country in all aspects of life.

SRPS Delegation Attended Founding Day of DPRK

A Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party delegation led by Jaalle Abdillahi Warsame Nur, member of the Central Committee, returned back to the country recently after attending the 30th Anniversary of the founding Day of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea.

While in PDRK, the delegation had the opportunity of seeing some of the country's vital economic programme projects such as Dams, State and Cooperative Farms etc and in Pyongyang the capital of PDRK, the delegation was shown around places of historical social significance as Theatres, Museums, monuments etc. In all the places they visited, the delegation was warmly received by the authorities and the workers.

The delegation on several occasions met some of the party and state leaders with whom they exchanged views and as well the experiences of the two countries. The Somali delegation briefed their Korean Comrades on the history of the country, the achievements of the October Revolution and the establishment of the Party in general and the struggle for the unification of the Somali people in particular. The Koreans on their side explained their continuous struggle for the unity of the two Korean pe-



ople and the development going on in their country.

On the last days of the visit, the head of the delegation Jaalle Abdillahi delivered a message sent by Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, the Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the Somali Democratic Republic to Comrade Kim Il Sung, the President PDRK.

The celebrations were attended by delegation fr-

om many friendly countries, Parties and liberation movements. The Somali delegation met some of these delegations and exchanged ideas with them.

During the celebration days, the whole country was in a festive mood and in Pyongyang more than 500,000 people representing the Social Organisations carried out different kinds of exhibitions in the streets of the city.

Banadir Youth Brigade

On the 24th September a ceremony was held at Hamar Weyn District Orientation Centre. It was jointly organised by Banadir Regional Party Committee and SRYU branch in the

region as a gesture of appreciation for the hard work done by Banadir Youth representatives during their week-long working stay at Shalambood, to take part in the staliza-

tion of the sand-dune.

Thus the ceremony was held in honour of the first group after returning to Mogadishu and performing their duty in good manner.

During the ceremony, they were awarded the first and second honorary certificates according to their individual work and activity. The ceremony also served as a

a fare well party for the second group of the youth consisting of 210 comrades, who engaged in the same task from the 26 of September to 15th of October.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF HALGAN

EXPRESSES THEIR HEARTFELT

FELICITATIONS TO ALL THE SOMALI

PEOPLE ON THE OCCASION OF THE

NINTH ANNIVERSARY

CELEBRATIONS OF THE 21st

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

WORLD AFFAIRS



The OAU Summit and the Non-Alignment Conference

By - Abdi Awale Jama

Both the Khartoum OAU Summit and the Belgrade Non-aligned Foreign Ministers Conference laid a great deal of stress on the theme of non-alignment.

The OAU Summit opened in Khartoum on July 18th. It met a critical time for Africa, a time of great troubles caused by foreign intervention in African affairs. The speeches of the Heads of State and Governments assembled in Khartoum emphasised that the OAU must, henceforth, play a more effective role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and superpowerism. The 15th Summit Conference of the organisation of African Unity witnessed African leaders stressing the importance of African Unity and reaffirming the determination to oppose foreign intervention.

The OAU sessions condemned foreign military presence in Africa and reaffirmed that the defence, security and peace of Africa are the responsibilities of the African and themselves. Discussion also centered around the issue of creating a Pan - African Military Force, the strengthening of support to the African liberation movements, sanctions against South Africa, the Middle East situation, and the Palestine question, the enhancing of Afro-Arab cooperation and promoting the economic

development of Africa.

During his OAU Summit address, Jaalle Siyad, the Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the SDR pointed out:

«This Fifteenth Assembly of Heads of State and Governments is taking place at a time of heightened international tension and rivalrous confrontation in this African continent: Foreign powers are pursuing activities in fulfillment of their policy interests in a manner that is most damaging to the true interests of the African peoples concerned in the pretext of defending African interests.»

Jaalle Siyad went on to add; «The effect of this interference has created a host of antagonism and division among the African countries, thus weakening their effective pursuit of their cherished goals in liberating the remaining colonial pockets as well as achieving economic and social development in our continent.»

The Secretary - General of the SRSP and President of the SDR warned that Africa is in danger of being recolonised and that this second scramble for Africa is spearheaded, regrettably, by the Soviet Union which seeks to introduce foreign troops to impose external solutions. «Naturally» Jaalle Siad

emphasised, «such foreign imposed solutions to African problems are in final analysis no solution at all, they only complicated an already difficult solution.»

In spite of its many shortcomings and the serious setbacks it has suffered during the past fifteen years, the OAU symbolises the fact that Africa possesses a strong continental feeling.

But such feelings are not enough to give Africa a more effective role in international affairs. In order to obtain greater results in the international arena, Africa needs the guiding beacon of time-tested principles.

In this connection, it is highly significant that the OAU sessions in Khartoum discussed at length the need to reinforce the movement of nonalignment.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned countries was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, between July 25th and 29th. The key task undertaken at the Conference lay in preparing for the Non-aligned Summit document safeguarding the purpose and unity of the non-aligned movement.

Serious attempts have been made recently to sabotage the non-aligned movement. The most damaging of these have been made by the Soviet

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
SRSP JAALLE MOHAMED SIAD
BARRE ON THE OCCASION
OF THE 9th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE 21st OCTOBER
REVOLUTION**

First of all on behalf of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and on my own behalf, let me congratulate you all on the Anniversary of this great day, fully aware that your feelings and sense of optimism are on a high level. I pay special regard and gratitude to the Comrades and other Dear Guests who travelled a long way in order to share with us the Anniversary of our Revolution.

COMRADES,

Your feelings, such as you are having to-day, moved the armed forces, on a day like this nine years ago, to take over the responsibility of governing the country... a process in whose guidance, direction and implementation many of you have participated.

The aim of the Revolution was not simply to take over power, nor to serve the interests of a particular group or class, nor to passify the people with false promises, but to realize in practice the large aspirations of the Somali masses for which they were struggling for a long time, and to overcome the problems and difficulties that had weakened them for so long.

The aspirations for which the Somali people struggled for so long can be summarized in their desire to achieve in the country, through their own efforts, social and economic change, whose fruits are not appropriated by a small group of class but are shared equitably by all. The Somali people believes, like us, that this country has resources sufficient for ten times the present population, but the main obstacles are ignorance, lack of hard work and maldistribution.

tion.

It was because of this conviction that the Revolution from the beginning set itself the task of raising the level of education and knowledge, increasing production and its equitable distribution among the society. We need not ask ourselves the gains of the Revolution in such areas. One can get the details and statistics from the organisations concerned, or see the results in social practice. We believe that the Somali people, despite a long history of difficulties, division, oppression, diversion and deception, are today passing through a better period because many of their aspirations have been

realized, and that have full confidence in the realization of the rest. This does not call for any relaxation. On the contrary whenever our society becomes bolder, whenever our economy grows, whenever our national unity becomes more solidified, then certainly we are frustrating the interests of certain groups within us or the policies of some foreign governments. We cannot expect these to approve or at least not oppose such successes. It is up to them. On our part we should seriously and in a revolutionary manner fulfil the responsibility of the all-round development of our society. To do so we have always to be clear on the path



we have to follow, which can only be the socialist path.

The gains of the Revolution are enough evidence on the correctness of the choice of the socialist path. Thanks to the Socialist path and the hard work of our people, the nine years of struggle have raised to a high level the economic, social and cultural transformation for which we have sought for so long. In reality the main features of the economy today, system of distribution and the direction of investment are in the hands of the people. We can divide the economy into 3 main sectors:

- 1) The state sector
- 2) The co-operative sector
- 3) The private sector

The two first sectors are collective property directly managed by the government, while the third sector is guided and controlled through the plan. The existence and encouragement of this third sector is not something new, nor is it inimical, to an economy developing in the socialist path. On the contrary it can play a proper role in the overall development of the country, provided the private owners are nationals who are active in investment and respectful of the laws of the country and rights of their employees. Even if the investors are, or involved with foreign firms, organisations or governments they can still participate in the development efforts subject to the plan of the country and the accepted norms of international exchange.

In such an expanded economy, mostly managed by the government, with extended relations with many parts of the world, it is quite possible to find mismanagement here and there, or unbalance among its sectors. Recently there ap-

peared a new phenomenon of parasites who try to benefit from these weaknesses and get rich quickly. We are not worried about these pirates. They came with the wind and they will go with the wind. All those willing to participate in the above-mentioned 3 sectors are quite welcome, but the insects and parasites have to leave us alone.

In the field of education, we are all aware of the importance given to it by the Revolution, and how the people became conscious of it. The writing of the Somali language and the strengthening of Arabic opened the door to the expansion of education everywhere, simplified the educational system in the schools, and eliminated the misunderstanding and lack of harmony in the administration. In fact the question facing us today is not how to bring education to our people but:

(I) How to improve the quality of education in the schools and University.

(II) How to give a technical basis to the students; and

(III) How to bear the burden of such an expanded system in the coming years.

The only way to solve these problems, we think, is to work harder, develop our economy further and to improve our planning system.

The Revolution also gave top priority to the security and stability in the society. It was absolutely essential that each person should feel secure in his home, district and place of work. This required the study of the social relations among our people, the cultural heritage, and the special circumstances that cause conflict-sometimes bloody among them.

Economic backwardness

and ignorance result in cultural backwardness. This cultural backwardness stagnated for a long time in the lowest form recognisable in the development of the society: In the form of clanish formation. Low productivity and ignorance bring forth struggle-sometimes violent over the available resources and social services, thus resulting in lack of confidence and lack of security. The first step taken by the Revolution in this regard was to bring back confidence to people, to provide the service they need such as medicine, water, or pasture in an equitable way, to make each family feel secure where they are.

We believe that the people, when they saw what has been done for them, gave up clinging to tribalism, (or, rather clannism) and that they began fully to back the Revolution and the Party that was born with their all-round support. Never the less there are those who are intent on exacerbating the tribal wounds in order to fulfil their own interests, or make it a stepping stone for reaching power. While we are sure that they cannot deceive many yet we call upon those who lost individuals to give up political profiteering, foreign-following and the damaging of the Somali people. If they don't remedy their conduct in time the Somali masses will no longer tolerate them and will have no mercy for them.

COMRADES:

From the first years the Revolution faced its responsibility concerning the mobilization of the people, the raising of their political consciousness, and the vanguard role of the forces engaged in production. When it became clear that the internal contradictions between social groups has become minimal, when

confidence in justice brought about wide-spread peace in the country, when full attention was turned to work, when progressive and patriotic forces had the upper hand, then the Supreme Revolutionary Council transferred its powers to the new socialist Party, which has been ruling party for the last two years. The main objective of this was to create a mass basis for the rule of the country, to establish correct leadership from the people so that the programmes and plans of the government can meet the short and long range needs of the people. The experience of the past two years shows that this was a clear foresight. This does not mean that the process of enabling the various social groups of the people to participate in running the affairs of the country has terminated. On the country the aim of the Party is to increase each day the involvement of working forces and the various social strata in making the general policy of the country. Moreover it is also necessary that all members of the society at large realize their responsibility towards the country, as well as their rights.

It is as a result of this need that the Central Committee decided and approved the making of a Constitution which, will be promulgated during the coming year. In our opinion this will be a very important step for the democratic development which our country is seeking. Certainly the Constitution will result in the establishment of a Parliament in which the various social strata will express their views about the policy and administration of the country.

The Central Committee also decided, in its meeting of 18th and 19th October, the holding of an extraordinary Party Congress within 3 months in

order to evaluate the presentough land and enough resources. The truth of the matter is that the Ethiopian Government in its accusation of Somalia is camouflaging its colonization of the peoples who are struggling to become free from its rule. The accusation that Somalia has destroyed people and property is a baseless one, simply because Somalia cannot possibly destroy the towns and villages built by Somali people with their own sweat. If any body is going to lodge a claim it is the Somali Democratic Republic whose people have been killed, towns bombarded and great damage caused thereby. What the Somali people can in no way accept is to see their brothers colonized and oppressed in their own land. The support given by Somalia to the Liberation Movements is based on such legitimate rights. It was for the same reason that we were supporting Djibouti just recently, even though at the time also Ethiopia was propagating that we were claiming it. But truth will always come to the fore, and history teaches a lesson each day, for those who want to listen

COMRADES DEAR GUESTS;

Lately the question has been asked in several quarters about the stand of the Somali Government concerning present world issues, specifically its relations with the major powers and its neighbours. How does she view, it is asked, the cause and struggles of the liberation movements in the Horn of Africa? We think that the Somali point of view is hidden only from those who don't want to understand it for our position is apparent from our daily work. Yet let me try to clarify.

If I start with the question of the Liberation Movements struggling for the return of their rights be they those of Western Somalia, Abbo or Eritrea - we think it imperative that a way must be found to allow these peoples their right for self-determination. This is a legitimate and inevitable right common to all nations that are under colonial bondage, divided, or suffering from racial discrimination. I believe there is no need to reiterate here the history of Western Somalia, the Somali people in general, or that of Eritrea. I believe that history is well-known even though some governments, in pursuing their own interests, many times ignore or deny that history.

The Ethiopian Government continually claims that Somalia is expansionist, that Somalia wants to annex Western Somalia. This is pure nonsense. The people of the Somali Democratic Republic have en-

Apart from the cause of liberation, which is between the Ethiopian Government and the Liberation Movements there has been a long-standing border problem between Ethiopia and Somalia which requires a solution. All these problems require to be squarely faced and discussed in a way that fulfils both the short and long-range interests of the people of the region.

On these problem of the Horn, Somalia disagrees with other governments besides Ethiopia, main among which is the Soviet Union. We do not demand that all governments agree with our point of view concerning the burning issues of the day, including those of

the Horn of Africa. But what we never expected was that a government with the prestige and declared principles of the Soviet Union, on whose shoulders lie responsibilities of a world scale, or Cuba which claimed that it stands for the defense of the oppressed peoples, would blatantly side against weak Liberation Movements struggling for a long time for their rights with no weapons but the will of their people. We believe that foreign interference in the Horn of Africa is a dangerous policy, with serious consequences, and will in no way provide solutions to the present problems. We call again upon the Soviet Union and those Governments allied with it to review and change their present policies, respect the rights of the humans for freedom and independence and stop the threats and aggressive designs against the Somali Democratic Republic.

We admit that there are many problems in the African continent. But we believe that it is up to the Africans to come up with the solutions they see fit in the manner they see fit, either collectively or between those countries that the specific problem concerns.

In truth, during the early sixties when the enthusiasm of the independence Movement was still in the air, there was a sense of solidarity coming up. Unfortunately when the independence of many countries was consolidated and recognized, misunderstandings appeared. There are many reasons for this, of course, chief among which are the divisions inherited from colonialism, lack of communication, different languages and religions that were an impediment to their intermingling. In addition to this the socio-economic ties of

each government to ex-colonial power was strengthening, and the interference of foreign powers seeking strategic advantages without regard to the real unity sought by the African people, was also increasing. The uncalled for designs of these governments whether they are of the old colonial type, or those new ones who are seeking today to create opportunities for dividing African countries in order to promote their interests, cannot be tolerated, nor can their danger be minimized. To cap it all, there appeared recently divisions among the countries according to the system or way of development preferred by each.

Yet with all these problems one cannot ignore the larger common interests of the continent, the similar circumstances and conditions of the people all of which compel closer co-operation and a common effort to solve the problems between them.

This will certainly facilitate the uniting of the forces and the political views of the continent in order to give genuine assistance to the nations still struggling for their independence such as Namibia, Zimbabwe, and those who are locked in confrontation with apartheid South Africa. Even though many countries are trying to find a peaceful solution for the independence these countries, yet all African countries should spare no effort in order to help these peoples to gain their independence immediately. Only when this is appreciated, only when there is genuine conviction of the need to unify the struggle of the African peoples, only then would it be possible for African leaders to tackle and realize the aspirations of the sixties, and for which the Orga-

nisation of African Unity was created: The necessity of uniting this continent. We hope that the crisis in several areas of the continent will be solved in order to make the necessary co-operation and unity for progress possible.

When we call for this, we do not mean at all that the major powers or the so-called developed countries cannot contribute to the Liberation of the remaining parts of the continent, or to its economic and technological progress. They can and they should. But the primary condition is that they should respect the freedom, peace, security and cooperation of this continent.

If we mention specifically our relations with Europe and the United States, relations which Somalia always tried to prevent from deteriorating, we want to say that these relations are now improving. We are specially gratified by their carefulness not to interfere in our internal affairs, and the willingness they have shown in assisting us economically.

We also deeply respect the relations we have with the government and peoples of China. It is an undeniable fact that China today plays a very important role in the world arena. She deserves serious consideration from the Somali Government and people for her considerable assistance in our economic development and her sincere attempts to understand the character of the Somali people and their objectives.

If I now turn to the Arab World it is obvious that the special circumstances pertaining today in the Middle East, the Red Sea, Horn of Africa, and the Indian Ocean confirm the fact of our interdependence and the need to further stren-

gthen our Governmental co-operation and our socio-economic relations.

However, we are very much worried by the fact that the Camp David proposals for a solution of the Middle East crisis have created divisions among the Arab leaders. The Somali Government and people were always struggling for a just solution of the Middle East crisis: that Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967, and that the Palestinian people should be allowed their national rights for self-determination. These principles have also been codified in Resolutions 242, and 338 of the United Nations.

The implementations of these principles and a final peace agreement between the Arab countries and Israel could not have been easy matter but one which needs, in our opinion, prolonged struggle, patience and open mind. Since there had been no Arab Summit for some years, we believe the meeting called by Iraq is in order. This meeting must discuss the questions dividing Arabs, strengthen the basic points of agreement, and find the proper formula for co-ordinating Arab points of view. The confrontation between Arab countries, in our view, is very dangerous indeed. It gives an excellent opportunity to their enemies, and makes the Arabs lose a right which they could have won were they united. For these reasons the Somali Government has decided to participate in this coming conference and will spare no effort in trying to bridge the differences.

COMRADES,
DEAR GUESTS,

If such is the experience and

policy of Somalia, what are the present roles of the Somali masses, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Government?

The Somali masses had many time expressed and proved their readiness to defend their nationhood, their sacrifice of self and property for the realization of national aspirations, their undauntedness and patience. It is because of these qualities that the Somali nation had been fought against decades ago and divided. The same designs are still there today. The Somali people can defeat such criminal plots only by further strengthening their unity and solidarity. There are always rabble-rousers who are bent on dividing the people, enticing one against another, and reviving old vestiges of the past. It is the responsibility of the Party to point these to the people, expose and isolate them. It is true that the Party has been engaged upto now in its own establishment; it has passed through the difficult circumstances facing the country; which did not allow it to concentrate fully on its normal tasks in the society. Now that the Party has completed the establishment of its structure across the country, both residentially and at work places, and is engaged in many areas directly in the administration, it can only be expected to conscientiously and directly implement its programme. The party is the nerve centre among the masses that communicates their views and complaints to the organs concerned, and firmly establishes the roots of the ideas of scientific socialism. A party that is not consistent and determined in its principles will not be useful and will not reach its goals. It must mingle with, bring up and direct the social

organisations. It must also strengthen its relations with parties of similar views and other international organisations. Since the time of holding the Extra-ordinary Party Congress is close at hand, the Party must organize itself for the occasion and tasks at hand.

All Government organs must conclude in fulfilling the tasks set out for them in the 1974-78 plan. Special attention must be focused on the directive of making the country self-sufficient in food production by 1980. No matter what difficulties arise, this goal must be kept in the fore front. The Government is also required to improve the system of administration, reduce waste, and eliminate the remnants of speculation, corruption and favouritism. The co-ordination of the various organs must be simplified, while the workers associations and co-operatives should co-operate in raising production and the satisfying of the needs of the masses. If we fulfil our programmes and these directives, I am sure our people will prosper in the road we are following.

Finally allow me to thank the Somali masses, Armed forces and the very many social groups who have excellently celebrated this occasion, and heartily welcomed the Somali Comrades who visited us from abroad and from the regions, and the other Dear Guests who honoured us with their coming to us on this day.

LONG LIVE THE SOMALI
REVOLUTION: LONG LIVE
THE S.R.S.P.

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DECIDED AND APPROVED
THE MAKING OF A
CONSTITUTION WHICH
WILL BE PROMULGATED
DURING THE COMING
YEAR.**

Jaalle Siad on 21st October 1978

**THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DECIDED IN ITS MEETING
OF 18th OCTOBER THE
HOLDING OF AN EXTRA
ORDINARY PARTY
CONGRESS WITHIN THREE
MONTHS.**

Jaalle Siad on 21st October 1978

Union directing Cuba to use force to commit aggression against National Liberation Movements particularly those in the Horn of Africa, causing grave difficulties to the unity of the non-aligned movement.

That is why, at the Khartoum OAU Summit, Jaalle Siyaad observed: «Cuba is surely unworthy of its membership in a movement dedicated to the preservation and safeguarding of principles and policies of non-participation in collective alliance which include the big powers, refusal to enter into bilateral alliances with a major foreign power.»

Having been involved in damaging practice, Cuba began to issue a spate of propaganda to rationalise such wrong policies in the field of theory, Cuba sought to revise the most fundamental principles of the non-aligned movement. Cuban theory amounts to demanding that the non-aligned countries should align themselves with the «Socialist camp.»

The Cuban practice and theory of non-alignment has been vigorously criticised by important circles in key countries for Example, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Sirilanka (the host of the last 1976 Colombo Summit of the non-aligned countries). The media of the peoples Republic of China played an important role in exposing Cuban and Soviet anti-non-aligned policies and activities. The media of the Democratic Republic of Korea emphasised Comrade Kim Il Sung's statement that the national liberation movement and the non-aligned movement cannot be reduced to the role of a mere «reserve force» for Socialist countries. Giving them «Seco-

ndary» treatment in theory permits certain Socialist countries to cynically manipulate them for their own power interests.

In the same connection, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania was moved to make the following important statement.

«It can be said that in the world today, we have seen two major trends in the policy of domination and redivision of the spheres of influence: one trend is to have recourse to force and to strengthen the domination through military ways, to seek for or consolidate the spheres of influence; the other trend is to strengthen the domination of monopoly and multinational corporations and consolidate the influence of certain countries in various areas of the world through various means, mainly economic means. Having recourse to force and using military means is the principal danger in international life.»

The President of Rumania went on to add:

«The non-aligned countries are playing an ever important role on the International life. We hold that the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries held recently in Belgrade successfully worked out a programme of action which will enhance the role of these countries in the International political life.

«Rumania has always firmly stood for the solution of all African problems by the African peoples themselves without foreign military or any other intervention. In the field of policies pursued by these countries for their economic

and social development, we hold that it is a wrong tendency to classify these nation as «progressive», non-progressive or «conservative».

At the Belgrade Non-aligned Conference, Cuba and the Soviet Union came under heavy attack for pursuing policies and activities detrimental to the non-aligned movement. This is the first time in the history of the movement that such serious charges against Cuba and the Soviet Union were made. Furthermore, the charges were made by countries which are in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism: For example Cambodia, the Somali Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Rumania; Democratic Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and others.

Cuba and the Soviet Union responded by saying that such charges were instigated by old style imperialism. They also hasten to add that such attacks serve imperialism. Such simplistic responses cannot satisfy people in 1978. As the May 1978 Edition of HALGAN stated:-

«The new aggressive policy adopted by the USSR and its allies resulted in crass interference in purely African matters. Their adventurist deployment of arms and troops (From Cuba and other East European countries) in such a the worldwide struggle against way as to aggravate tensions on the African continent. Thus provide a veritable shelter behind which imperialism is openly and forcefully returning to recolonise Africa».

That is why the criticism of USSR policies with regards to non-alignment have come from numerous countries, ma-

ny of them staunchly anti-imperialist.

In fact, many more count-

ries continue to criticise USSR policies privately. They fear to do so openly due to the he-

avy dependency relationship created between the USSR and several third world countries.

Southern Africa: The struggle enters a new phase

The national liberation movements in southern Africa are gaining momentum, international solidarity actions in support of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa are being held in an unprecedented scale throughout the world, the racist white minority regimes are facing mounting opposition and internal crisis, in the face of this critical situation the fascist governments in Southern Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia are resorting to new tactics, in order to sustain their inhuman, super-exploitative systems in that part of the African Continent.

Both the South African government and the Rhodesian are vainly trying to enforce their own cooked-up solution as internal settlement for the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively. The Patriotic Front of Rhodesia and SWAPO of Namibia have more often than not revealed the dangers underlying such devices by the racist regimes and made their undaunting opposition to such international settlements.

NAMIBIA

Decades of petitions, appeals and peaceful means by the Namibian people to gain their inalienable right of independence did not work with the abhorrent supremacist regime of South Africa. Thus the people of Namibia led by their Liberation Movement «SWAPO» took to arms struggle in 1962 which soon won both the support and

the full backing of all the democratic and peace-loving peoples in the world. The march of history too has been another factor that favoured the development of the Namibian national movement. The accession of many African countries to independence and their subsequent increase of aid and assistance to SWAPO, the dynamic rise of prestige and potentiality of the world Revolutionary Movement and its indispensable alliance with the African national liberation movements, all enhanced the position of SWAPO in Namibia until the western countries which had a lot to stake in that country tried to bring the South African government to its senses and agree to UN security propositions on the independence of Namibia. The initial acceptance of the UN propositions by South Africa was shortlived and it soon had second thoughts after discovering that SWAPO'S position as regards these propositions proved to be far beyond what the racist South Africa government had contemplated. Presently the whole UN project is drawing with contradictions wantonly created by the S. A. government.

The S. A. government refused to accept the UN forces, numbering about 7'500 that are to administer law and order in the country during the forthcoming election. It says the figure is too high. Of course for her to manipulate! Moreover, it requires that SWAPO should guarantee com-

plete cease-fire before S. A. troops are confined to their bases, a naive way of trying to disarm SWAPO and render it ineffective so as to be able to rig the elections and independence in accordance with the racist mentalities of the rulers of S. A. and their imperialist mentors of the multinational corporations.

Another sphere of great difference between SWAPO and the racist S.A. government is the question of Walvis Bay and the political prisoners. SWAPO says the former must be handed over and the latter released before SWAPO stops fighting, whereas the S.A. government maintains that SWAPO should first stop fighting before either the prisoners are released or the question of Walvis Bay settled.

Another serious snag to the execution of the UN plan is that Mr. Marthinus Steyn the S.A. representative, who is the administrator-general of South West Africa, has already gone ahead with a unilateral registration of the Voters in Namibia, which is evidently in contrariety with the terms of the UN plan that provides for the complete presence and supervision of the registration and elections by the UN mission.

The South African racist government is bent on putting every obstacle on the way to the Namibian independence. In view of the preparations which the accession of Namibia to independence entails and which have been fully ap-

preciated by all the other concerned parties. S.A., unable to swallow the bitter loss of that country for good, paradoxically calls for an early grant of independence with the sole purpose of handing the country, Namibia, to the S.A.-backed Democratic Turnhalle Alliance». Another internal settlement cover.

The S.A. Premier Piet Botha, a staunch advocate of apartheid, and a man known for his notorious role as S.A. defence Minister in 1975 when he despatched S.A. troops into Angola to assist the UNITA forces and his representative in Namibia, Mr M. Steyn who professes a long training in the arts of repression, are together determined to carry out the programmes of the former racist chief, Mr. Vorster to establish a mockery of independence in Namibia. But these dreams are sure to be crushed upon the mighty resistance of SWAPO's freedom fighters backed by the vast majority of the Namibian people. In the late seventies of the twentieth century the African national liberation movements have amassed enough skill, experience and political consciousness that they can never accept anything less than true independence that ultimately leads towards full economical and social emancipation; and this is what SWAPO stands for.

RHODESIA:

The Zimbabwean people's growing struggle spearheaded by the Patriotic Front, has compelled the strong-headed, stiff-necked, arrogant Ian Smith to accept the participation of few blacks in his government in order to save the Rhodesian racist regime from being completely overthrown by the genuine Zimbabwean Liberation Movement. He ca-

me up with an internal agreement of his design.

This internal settlement is however bound to fail since it constitutes a total betrayal of the aspiration of the Zimbabwe people to true independence. The internal settlement is devised and worked out in such a way as to substitute the present naked racist Rhodesian system by a black represented government that makes sure that the capitalist interests and the white domination in Zimbabwe remain intact.

This plan is anachronistic, given the present international correlation of world forces and the real situation in Rhodesia itself. The economic crisis in the country, the rising inflation, the growing number of the white proprietors fleeing the country, the escalation of the armed struggle by the Patriotic Front, increasing recruitment into the ranks of the freedom fighters, all these combine together to render the Ian Smith attempts to hold together his staggering white dominated rule in Rhodesia by including into its ranks the Muzarewas, the Sitholes and the likes futile.

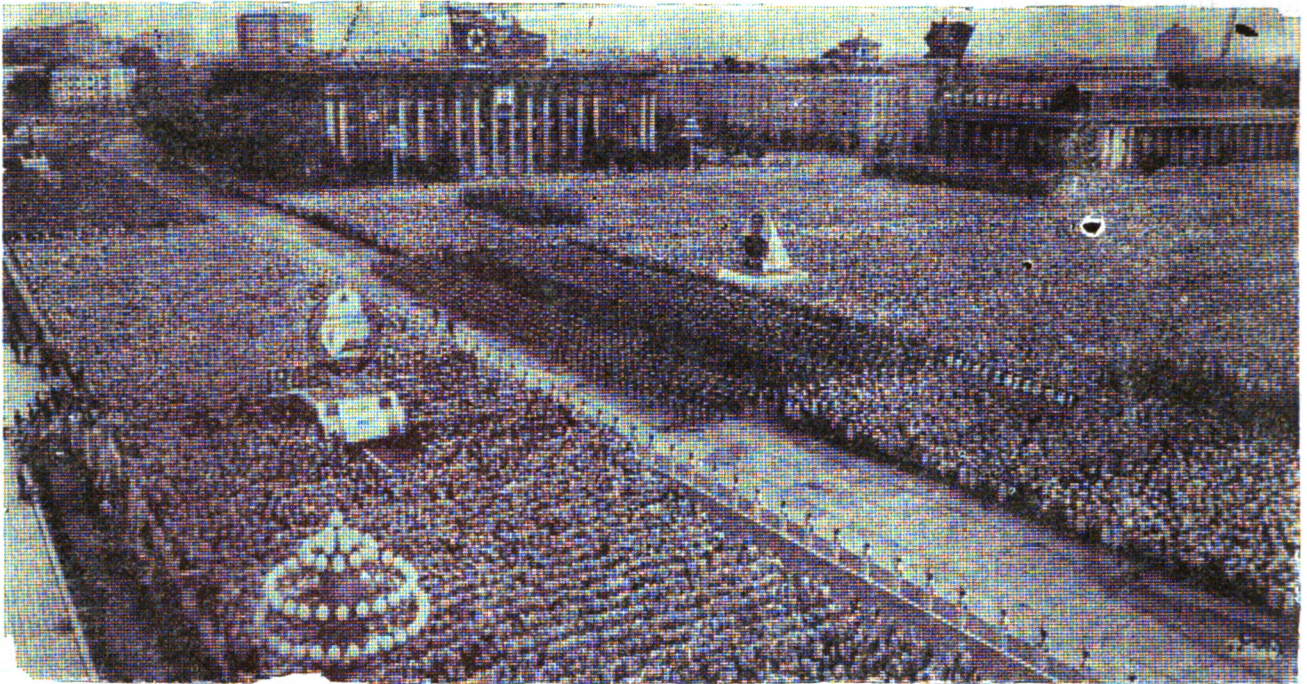
Apart from the growing intensity in their fighting capacity inside the country, the Patriotic Front has also won a marked position in the international arena. The organization of the African Unity is completely with the Patriotic Front and had voiced its rejection of the so-called internal settlement as a bogus agreement and mere farce. In the recent OAU summit held in July 78, in the Sudanese Capital of Khartoum, the member States pledged once more to increase their support and assis-

tance to the Patriotic Front so as to hasten the doom of the racist Smith regime and bring about the establishment of a genuine majority rule and true independence in Rhodesia.

In order to aid their man-Ian Smith in Rhodesia and to safeguard his crumbling regime, many imperialist circles have diligently sought to draw a wedge between the two partners of the Patriotic Front by trying to label one Party as ultra revolutionary, blood-thirsty and the other as ultra-revolutionary, blood-thirsty party. But as Mr. Mugabe, the co-leader of the Patriotic Front, has exposed these attempts to be hopeless and futile owing to deep trust, close collaboration and concerted action between ZAPU and ZANU parties. With its adequate training, advanced military equipment, growing number in its ranks, the Patriotic Front has already extended its guerrilla operations into the urban cities of Rhodesia.

Panic-stricken by this unexpected escalation of the war of liberation, Ian Smith hastened to fly to the U.S. accompanied by his accomplice black «Reverends» and «Drs» in the hope that he may win certain international sympathy for his internal settlement. The Patriotic Front has so far displayed the highest degree of flexibility which has won her the sympathy and support of several Western countries. It has at the same time made it loud and clear that in such matters of principle as true independence and majority rule it is absolutely uncompromising.

30th Anniversary of the founding of the D P R K



9th. Sept. 1978 marks the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This historic event was grandly commemorated by the Korean people and their revolutionary Government.

After the long heroic struggle of the Korean people, in which they scored a glaring victory over the Japanese militarism three decades ago, in 1948, and subsequent to the establishment of a people's republic, the revolutionary Government of Korea embarked upon policies aimed at the creation of an independent Socialist State.

In this relatively short space of time, the DPRK saw the elimination of a backward economy and technology inherited from the colonial and semi-feudal society, the laying of a strong foundation of an independent national economy able to meet domestically, in the main, the material, cultural and defence needs of the country and the people, and its conversion into a socialist industrial State.

In the international sphere,

the DPRK follows a foreign policy upon the principles of peaceful co-existence, the respect for and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, the vehement opposition to all forms of imperialist domination, the unreserved support of all national liberation movements struggling for the independence and freedom, ever readiness for mutual cooperation with other independent sovereign States based on equality, and the upholding of world peace.

Needless to say it was in this community of interests and aims that the revolutionary government of the Somali Democratic Republic established full diplomatic relations with the DPRK, immediately after the inception of the 21 October Revolution in Somalia which soon developed into a militant fraternal relation embracing other spheres of our social life. This cordial relation was cemented by the mutual cooperation between the two countries in the fields of agriculture, industry, education, etc. Moreover, the exchange of visits at all levels between

the two countries further enhanced to deepen the already existing friendly relations, which has been, indeed crowned by the visit of the SDR President Jaalle Siad Barre to the DPRK in 1974 where he and his delegation were accorded the warmest reception and the traditional hospitality by the great Korean Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung the government and the Korean People.

Now that the DPRK is triumphantly celebrating this remarkable day of its foundation, the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Government and the Somali People take great pleasure and pride to express their warmest greetings and heart-felt congratulations to the respected Korean Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean Workers Party and the friendly Korean People upon this remarkably joyous occasion of their life. We also re-affirm our unflinching support for the peaceful reunification of the Korean people... our Best wishes for an ever victorious advance to new heights.



MONTHLY BULLETIN

Jaalle Siad's Visit to Holand, Belgium and Italy

The President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre at the head of a high level delegation extended a 13-day official visit to Holand, Belgium and Italy from 4th to 17th of September at the invitation of the leaders of those countries.

Upon arrival in Amesterdam the President and his delegation were given warm reception. Latter, the Dutch Prime Minister Dries Van Agt threw a state banquet in honour of Jaalle Siad in the Hague.

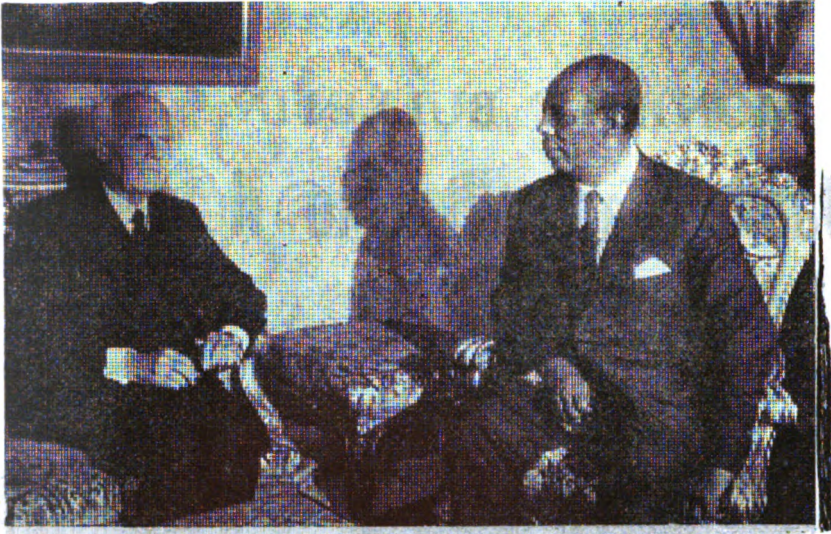
In a speech at the banquet President Siad said «it is a great pleasure for me to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the government of the Royal Kingdom of the Netherlands for the warm reception and hospitality accorded to my delegation to the soil, of this marvellous and ancient country. This visit which indeed is the first of its kind and to which we attach a particular importance embodies to us a great significance - we therefore, earnestly hope that it will yield its vitality along the path of close cooperation between our two countries in the years to come». He noted that relations between the two countries had started a long time ago when Dutch sailors traded in this part of the world.



In this connection he emphasized Somalia's profound desire in furthering the relations between the two countries, particularly in the field of economic cooperation. «To this end I would like to reiterate that the hidden wealth of our country in agriculture, livestock, minerals, fisheries, and other resources, fortified by the abundance of technology in your country and of other friendly countries will make rapid economic

and social transformations in modern Somalia. In doing this we shall be able to overcome the evils of the arch enemies of mankind- poverty, ignorance and disease.

Jaalle Siad gave an overview of the present situation regarding the conflict in the Horn of Africa and said that it has its deep roots in the very colonial fabrications of the regions beginning from the late 19th century to recent days. Adding



that it is an undisputed historical fact that Abyssinia unlike other African countries has fully participated in the process of the scramble for Africa and its colonial partition, a process which led her through military expansions, conquests and annexations to incorporate within the Ethiopian empire, the surrounding territories and peoples such as Western Somali, Somali Abbo and Eritrea in the recent past.

At the end of a three day visit to Holland, speaking to newsmen at Amsterdam shortly before departure, the President said his talks with Dutch government officials paved the way for closer relations of cooperation between Somalia and the Netherlands in the times ahead.

During the visit Jaalle Siad met with Queen Juliana in Rotterdam and the Dutch Prime Minister Mr. Dries Von Agt and had discussions on matters of bilateral relations and cooperation.

In Italy, President Siad met with Italian President Sandro Pertini in Rome on the 4th of September.

In a luncheon given in his honour by the Italian President, Jaalle Siad noted that the friendly relations between Somalia and Italy are growing day by day and stressed the need to further

bilateral cooperation.

President Pertini said that President Siad's visit would undoubtedly help to further promote the friendly relations between their two countries and concurred agreement that bilateral cooperation should be strengthened in all fields.

An agreement on bilateral technical cooperation was signed in Rome.

On the third leg of his tour in Brussels, President Siad called on King Bedouim at his palace and discussed with his majesty on ways of further strengthening the relations between the two countries. The talks held in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship, were



also attended by members of the delegation accompanying the President.

Meanwhile, an agreement in economic and educational cooperation was signed in Brussels between representatives of the two countries.

In the course of the visit Jaalle Siad met with Belgium parliament president and exchanged views on bilateral cooperation and other issues of common concern. He also met with the

Prime Minister of the Belgium government. Before winding up his tour to Belgium, Jaalle Siad had a meeting with the President of the European Economic Commission and the D.G. of the European Economic Development Fund at the Commission Headquarters in Brussels and discussed cooperation arrangements with the EEC. In a banquet hosted by the Commission President, Jaalle Siad paid tribute to the Commission for its active contribution to the

economic development of the SDR.

At a press conference in Brussels President Siad said that his talks with European government leaders he had met during his tour had been enlightening and fruitful to the mutual benefit of all concerned. He said that Somalia' as a member of the ACP, wishes to enlarge the socio-economic cooperation bilaterally and multilaterally with EEC member States.

The 6th Inter-Regional Sports Competitions

The 6th Inter-Regional sports competitions was officially closed on 1st October by the Party Secretary General, President Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre at a ceremony held at the National Theatre.

Sports being a very prominent feature of the social life of all peoples greatly contribute to the physical fitness of the youth, National prestige, and it fosters the moral sense of fair play. The actual participation in a sports event is also an enjoyable past time. These and many other advantages of sports were not lost to the leadership of the October Socialist Revolution who began to promote it in all possible ways and means right from the beginning. That however does not mean that sport was unknown to the Somali People in the past. Sport has always been an integral part of the traditional nomadic way of life of the Somali people. Hunting, long distance walks, horse riding, wrestling, spear thro-

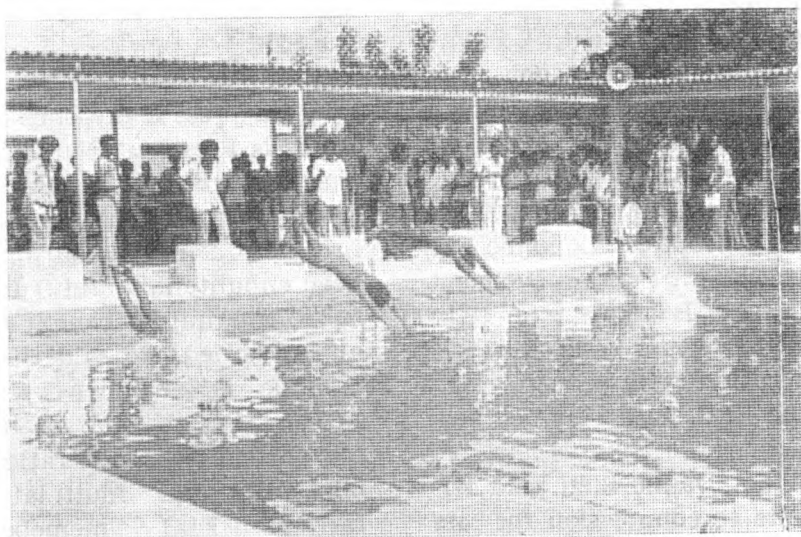


wing, target shooting and athletics were the usual past time. Despite the lack of organized competitions among the nomadic youth, sporting activities were still a day to day routine.

Throughout this revolutionary era no stone was left unturned to develop a sound sports machinery where participation was not the privilege of a few but the right of all. We are doing everything possible to put in the minds of the younger generation the value of sports; sharp minds are in healthy bodies. Our

youngstars are potentially disposed to winning honours in international games. They lack neither the ability, the desire nor the competitive spirit. The only obstacle was that they had never been given the opportunity to prove themselves before the inception of the revolution. We should work out a plan, not only to reach and every child in the country», Jaalle Siad stated in an earlier sport speech.

Speaking on the occasion of the closing ceremony of the 6th sports competitions, the President said that the inter-regional spo-



ports competitions, now successfully concluded show ever increasing interest the people have in sports activities.

Jaalle Siad dwelt at length on the revolutionary governments policy on sports and the progress so far achieved. He urged the youth and sports officials to double their efforts so as to win an honorable place for the SDR in the international arena.

The President expressed

the governments apposition to introduce professionalism in the Somali sport. The player should not confine himself to sport as a profession, in order to contribute to the society», he stressed.

On youth responsibilities the President said that they should the historical responsibility to wage a relentless fight against social evils, such as tribalism and nepotism.

Sport is the real weapon

with which the youth can combat such evils», he went on. While describing the youth as the standard bearers of the society, the President called on them to be always vigilant against all attempts aimed at undermining the conquests of the Revolution.

Later the Party Secretary General and President Jaalle Siad presented to the winning teams awards comprising of gold, silver and bronze medals, and certificates of honour.

The Minister of youth and sports Jaalle Abdikasim Salad Hassan who spoke on the occasion said that the player of the 6th inter-regional tournament surpassed those in the previous competitions both in sportsmanship and standard.

Eight hundred and seventy five (875) sportsman and sportswomen from the various regions of the country participated in the 10-days sports competition.

A cable of protest

The Somali foreign Minister Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre, sent a cable of protest to OAU Secretary General ADAM KODJO on the 14th of September to express the displeasure of the Somali Government over the deplorable abuse of the Somali flag in the recent Addis Ababa celebrations for the 4th Anniversary of the present Abyssinian regime.

The Minister's cable stated:

«Deplore to have inform you that on the occasion of the celebrations of the 4th Anniversary of the present Abyssinian Regime the Somali National Flag

was exhibited then flag on the ground and trampled upon by the entire fleet of marchers. Despite the fact that Somalia and Abyssinia do not maintain diplomatic relations, nevertheless my country as a member state of the OAU, whose headquarters is situated in ADDIS ABABA, and in accordance with the charter of the OAU as well as internationally recognized norms of conduct between states, the National Flag is rightfully entitled to fly among other flags of OAU member states at the organisations headquarters. I wish to hereby communicate on behalf of the government of the SDR

most vehement protests against the humiliation to which the Somali National flag has been subjected. Furthermore I wish to draw your excellency's attention that it is the duty and also pre-rogative of the OAU to ensure the flags, emblems and symbols of each member state from any such barbaric and uncivilized treatment by the host country. While the Somali government has complete confidence in your Excellency's leadership it is the wish of the Somali government to have the text of this note of protest circulated to all member states of the organisation.



CULTURE AND ART

October Revolution and Development of the Somali Language



Nine years passed since the birth of October 21st, Revolution and during that span of time, the Somali people achieved great successes among which the writing of the first script could be named.

It was 21st October 1972 when the decision of writing the language for the first ti-

me, was announced. Neither the script nor the illiteracy Campaign were the only steps taken but how the language could be scientifically and technologically expressive was also given its weight.

The backwardness in the Somali society has all-round character that affected its know-

ledge and particularly rooted in its language.

The small part of science and technology and the modern knowledge in general that we are in possession is expressed in terms taken from foreign languages.

This is based on the fact that the Somali language before its writing, was just spoken but not used for administration, science, technology, or philosophy.

Therefore, since a script is made, it is the development of the language itself that needs special emphasis to come up to the level of all modern knowledge.

To clarify the importance of this point, Halgan is publishing articles prepared by people, deeply involved with this topic.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE

By - A. Dirie Guled

It is a fact that literature emerges from the environment of its composers. Man depicts his feelings towards his political, cultural and economic str-

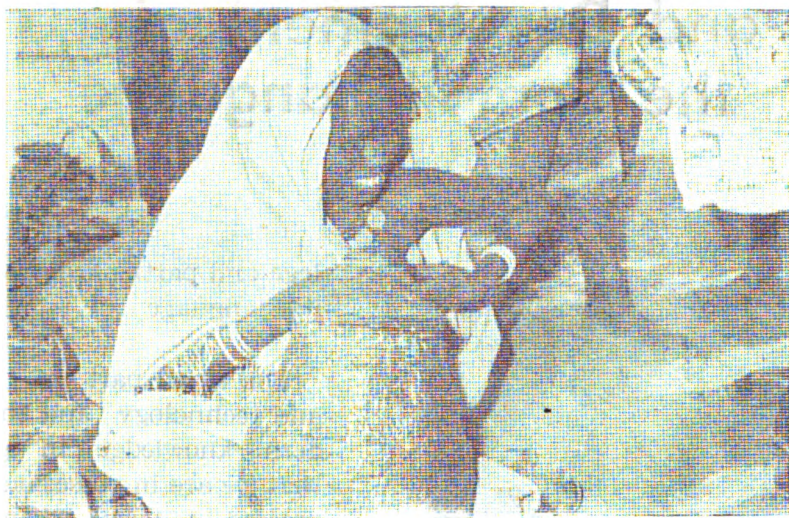
ucture in various means of which literature is the most effective. Thus since the inception of the Revolution other cultural, economic and political de-

velopmental changes have harmoniously taken place. This has brought about a new expression of either Complaint or support of the system in the

field of literature. Here is an outline of how the Revolution contributed to the developm-

the cause of countless works of literature. Besides this the new political movement broug-

ntity with the sum of works during the past centuries. Within nine month excessive works of literature have been composed.



Also literature has contributed in the daily usage of new vocabulary. The three phases of the Revolutionary development has brought about the coining of many new words. The application of the Somali script as the language of instruction in education, administration, commerce, industry has necessitated the usage of previously existing vocabulary in an original way. The words «Maamul», «Ganacsi» and «Warshadeyn» had never expressed before their present meaning of «administration», «Commerce» or «Industry». Alongside with this, the outlook of thinking has been promoted. When both the written and oral form of the Somali language was put in use to serve in the political, cultural and economic fields as deeper insight in these three aspects has been acquired. This is a proof that the idea comes before the word. After you become conscious you search for the word to express the idea. Thus the development of thinking has become the main cause for coining new words. The promotion of the society and is the means to attain the achievement of Revolutionary glories.

ent of literature.

As in every period a particular literary movement emerges as one of the indelible steps of the Somalia Script. This was the most important factor in the history of literature. It was the first time that the root of the Somali literature was understood. Before that there had been an oral literature but only the Somali script made the possibility of a written form to be adopted for the lines and stanzas of the Somali Poetry. It became possible for the unrecorded Somali literature to be researched and organised. This is still in process and to certain level satisfactory.

On the other hand, the adoption of the Somali script facilitated the creation of a new form of literature with unlimited dimensions. This came about as the utilization of the Somali script inspired the creativity of many. Thus the written for which had been out of use for a long time because

ht about its peculiar of literature. It was the inspiration of many creative individuals who for their first time composed countless stanzas. Directly or indirectly, the 21st October Revolution was instrumental in causing to emerge these creative individuals and their works of literature. Also literature depicting the cultural and economic conditions of the society came forth. The 21st October Revolution which didn't only bring about political changes but also an economic and cultural revolution was the cause of the present numerous works of literature. Its role is obvious on how it developed the other aspects of the society. There are many previously - ignored fields that met with due respect after the cultural Revolution.

Let us give an outline of the causes that developed literature by analysing particular aspect. First, it is obvious that the works of literature created during the Revolutionary era are commensurate in qua-

This was a brief outlook of the literary development in the Revolutionary era. Now let us examine the shortcomings and how to overcome them. The role of the Somali Script in reviving the previous literature is not yet expressed in detail. There is no trace of many works of the old literature and the rest remains in the minds of aged individuals.

from whom it should be recorded before it is too late. This needs both mental and material investment and the action should take place as soon as possible. The reason is if our ancestors have died with their knowledge, we have to search for the few living and inherit what they transmit. Then after gathering the information of available literature we have to organize, categorize and record them accordingly. What is more horrible is that some of the newly-composed valuable poetry is discarded let alone publishing them in the form of books. For sure, great effort has been put in these books of poetry and their transmission to society is inevitable. It is common that many creative minds couldn't get the least attention for the works that took most of their time and effort. Nevertheless some works of literature have been published. No one can overlook the intellectual of our society as they have produced thousands of books without getting reference, information or data, to help them. We have achieved the possibility of producing books for all the students of our schools up to the secondary grade within a few years. Such an outcome has only results after great effort. And at the same time many other works are not yet welcomed for publication.

We have alone much to overcome our obligation of developing the Somali Literature but still there remains more to be done. There is still not a well-defined coined vocabulary. We don't need our songs to imitate the same stanzas that have already been in a poem and what is a song by the way? It is only a musical rhythm or it contains more than that? There are various definitions of literature and if you ask several people to explain the

meaning of a song every one may give a different definition, leave alone the more complicated works of literature. Therefore, it is strange to find antagonistic debates and different opinions on one particular issue.

The place and the individual should be knowledgeable and they deserve to discuss the matter. Every task has its own

way to be approached and analyzed and if mistreated it might be miscomprehended.

In conclusion, our Somali literature has been greatly developed in the era of the 21st October Revolution because before that only few had have some poems by heart and nothing else. Now, within six years the number of poems composed can only be estimated by these concerned.

The Somali Language and Social Science

By - A. Yusuf Riyale

Language generally expresses in material form the consciousness and thoughts of man. It has come into being as a result of the development attained by man in his material need and his consciousness. Language is always growing in direct proportion to the progress of given society in its way of life. It has reached the highest stage of development during the period of technical, social, and scientific revolutionary transformation. Therefore, any expressed language should be able to show modern changes.

The development of the Somali language has passed through various stages. It has changed in line with the many sided development of the social life of the Somali people. And it has specially matured with the birth of independence. Before that time the Somali language had developed only in a limited way because of the historical circumstances of that period. And it served only as a vehicle of expressing class interests.

The division of labour among the workers was basic to the development of the Somali language.

As we have said earlier, the Somali language began acquiring new dimensions during the period of the independence struggle and later. And particularly since the October Revolution after the nationalist sentiment has grown and social intercourse increased, this greatly affecting the production relation among the people and introducing scientific and technological changes.

And today we witness the progress the Somali language has made in the political life of the nation and its ideology with which a new range of vocabulary has emerged.

The words «Hantiwadaag» Socialism and «Hantigoosad» Capitalism have certainly existed in the Somali language but they have never been used as today, nor have they been used politically. These words have extensive connotations in our time, connected with the

economic and social life pertaining to all spheres. Like the Somali words used for surplus value, exploitation, production relations and forces of production etc. All express the progress the language has made in the field of political economy. Likewise, there are Somali words that have vast political connotations such as those used for apartheid, co-existence, nationalization etc. and are all founded on the modern view of the great socialist revolution. They also reflect faithfully the various political systems of the world.

There are also words that are used in a general sense, but which retain their scientific significance, such as those used for mobilization (kicin) property «Adduun», the bourgeoisie «Maalqabeen» etc. These words can mostly be used for philosophical ideas, and they ge-

nerally show the view of experienced people.

The growth of the Somali language in the political life occurred with the birth of the October Revolution that has profoundly changed the social life of the Somali people and the writing of the Somali scri-

pt that has contributed to this development.

Therefore, it is the new circumstances of the social life and the Revolution that caused the Somali language to grow scientifically and keep space with the technological and social changes of our modern progressive world.



TERMINOLOGY

By Gariye

Just close your eyes for a moment and think. You can concentrate as long as you like but you cannot bring into your mind more than the words that you know. A person's perspective depends on the number of words that he commands. We may go further, a society dispose of the terminology formed by its experience and there you will find only the terms necessary by the requirements of its life. The development of a language does not come by itself and it is not independent of the existing conditions of a society. The terminology of the nomadic society is limited because of that society's backwardness. With the development of the social production, and when the means of production incre-

ase a new terminology and a new kind of social relationship, has been created.

Let me dwell on the development of the Somali language. The formation of the Somali Terminology passed through three important stages:

a) Religion Terms

When the Islamic religion reached the country, it had an immediate impact on the Somali culture. It became necessary to explain the Qoran and the «Hadith» to people who did not know Arabic. Moreover the religion conveyed new concepts. It was inevitable to somalize the Arabic terms representing these concepts, such as: «Janno» (Paradise)

and «Cadaab» (hell), «Shar» (evil) and «khayr» (good), «Shaydaan» (devil) and «Mala'ig» (angel), «xaq» (right) and «Baadil» (wrong), «Xal-aal» (Lawful) and «Xaaraan» (unlawful), «Sako» (payment imposed on earnings), «Soon» (fasting), «Xaj» (Pilgrimage) and so on. It used to happen and it still happens that the Somali theologians use Arabic words in the explanation of arabic terms. As, for example in explaining this verse: «Inna macal cusri Yusran», they would say: «after» «cusra», there is «ursan», without telling the student that «cusra» means hardship and «Yusran» relief.

b) Broad casting Terms

Both the Italian and the British administrations estab-

lished radio services around the 40's in the two regions which were under their control, and their aim was to broadcast news about the world war II which was the going on. The Somali broadcasters met the same difficulties previously encountered by the theologians. They had to transmit concepts in a language which lacked the appropriate terms. My heart felt congratulations go to them for the successful efforts in providing a rich vocabulary including such terms as: Rocket, fair, Socialism, self propelling machines, automatic weapons, discrimination, Commonwealth, short and long waves, etc.

The term «hirarka» (waves) was immediately put into literary use. A Somali song goes on saying:

Halkan waa Hargeysoo
Hirarka gaaban
Idinkala hadleysee
Habeen Wanaagsan
(This is (radio) Hargeysa,
broadcasting to you,
on short waves,
Good night

c). The terms coined after the adoption of the Somali Script.

The formations of our vocabulary has now reached its peak. A considerable development has been made as regards to quantity as well as to quality. For the first time, the Somali Language was made to replace the foreign languages in the schools, in the press and in the offices. Though there are some short comings, yet considering the relatively short period during which it has been in effective use, the Somali language has reached a high level development. The Committee responsible for setting up a uniform Somali Terminology and the one respon-

sible for the publication of books written in Somali are trying to find the Somali terms which can best translate the scientific concepts. When Somali words cannot be bound, the foreign terms are adopted and Somalized.

In conclusion, the three stages that I have mentioned here are the most important ones for the formation and development of the Somali terminology. However, we cannot forget the impact of the relations which exist between Somalia and other countries. The trade and cultural exchanges added new terms to the existing ones. We retained the foreign names of all the goods we receive from abroad, eg. «saacad» (watch), «buug» (book), «qalin» (pen), «sariir» (bed), «kursi» (chair), «raadiyow» (radio), «taksi» (taxi), «markab» (ship), etc.

Shortcomings

1). It seems that we are putting a heavy burden on the

Somali language which has been adopted only recently. We want it to respond to all our linguistic needs too quickly.

2) When a Somali word cannot be found and is agreed to adopt a foreign one, people tend to use any of the three versions of that word, that is either Arabic, English or Italian.

3) The Literary writing is so far very limited and the language is not yet consolidated.

4) The current terminology is not uniform. The Ministry of Health has elaborated a list of terms for its own use. The Ministry of Education did likewise. Each public Agency is free to do whatever it thinks best single handedly.

Even while talking about the same thing, people do not seem to understand each other. The matter is being carried to extremes, and that only encourages confusion.

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

By - Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

It is a well-known fact that man is the only social being that can enter with his world and environment into relations that can have a lasting impact. Other creatures live in harmony with the circumstances of nature around them, eating whatever they come across. But man is different and he is set apart by a definite thing called labour. It is definitely known that only human beings work, and not animals. Animals are motivated by the need of survival by which they satisfy the requirements of living under

natural conditions. But man does not live like that he adopted environment to his needs according to his abilities.

Human labour is dependant on and peculiar to the type of equipment available because man does rely solely on his muscles and he prepares the necessary tools for his existences with which he works. Tools are invented with an eye to extending labour itself. The tools are used, so to speak, to enable man to tame his environment, to change and master it.

This side of the picture shows us the struggle man is waging to change the world in which he is living.

Related to this is the other side which consists in the storing of equipment, knowledge of art and faiths that are the result of human existences itself.

We can say that the cornerstone of our social existence is labour, because it is the very source of thought and it gives rise to faith and beliefs, morals and anything connected with it.

Human labour always has a social nature, because human existence has never been known to be individualistic. Society is a historical fact and it passes through various stages of development, each stage having a distinct form and essence.

Human life and its stage of development depend on the strength of the tools and the technical knowledge connected with it by which a livelihood is produced. There is also to be considered the relations among human beings which are determined by the dominant economic intercourse among them. The way collective or social work is carried out determines the relations of people and colours their social relations. Collective efforts have resulted in collective thinking, a common view and in the exchange of knowledge thus special economic groupings being formed. The way culture of any society and society lives always depends on the experience of human existence in general and it expresses it.

Hence the depth of human relations with the world deter-

mines the level of man's knowledge and development. The efforts made for the purpose of producing the material production is related man to nature. Such relations indicate the extent to which man has mastered nature. Take any social formation, for example primitive man. We find that he can work only for the amount of effort he can put in one day limited by the nature of the tools at his disposal; stone implements used for cutting trees, cutting roots or killing wild animals. These are in addition the utensils used for carrying water and food on his journeys, such utensils being made of wood or stone or the bark of trees and grass all of which are obtained from the environment in which he lives.

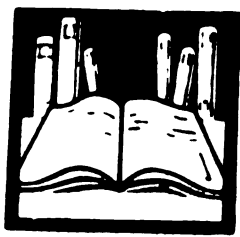
The best things in nature for any primitive social group are those that are permanently useful to them. There is also a dangerous side to nature in this respect and these are the beasts, unfavourable winds, thunder, thunderbolt diseases and all other calamities. Primitive societies are conscious of these things and give them names and their knowledge is commensurate to them. As for other things with which they have not been brought into contact they are not aware let alone knowing them. For example a primitive social group may live for a long time on a deposit of coal without having knowledge of its existence, with the ability to use it being out of the question.

On the other hand, the knowledge of primitive people or their culture in general depends on the skills they have acquired and their mode of thought is an expression of it. The society of primitive man we have taken as an ex-

ample knows only such words as it uses for gathering fruit or hunting and such other things that are connected with the tools it uses for its labour. If hunting is carried out other skills are facilitated by the environment new methods are created in accordance with the tools made available and the necessary vocabulary is invented.

The positive relations and role of man towards nature where his reflections and the tools he uses, the technology and the methods he applies, and the thoughts reflected there and the language he uses all represent specific cultural life of a definite society that has its features. Whenever a group grasps the value of labour and the aim behind it so as to be able to profit from nature and to modify it in the interest of fulfilling their needs, and when the knowledge of tools and skills becomes part of the traditions of that group, it is then that we can say a certain social group has come into being.

A group of people feel their separate existence when they make a concerted effort to live together, such awareness is brought about by the human cooperation for survival, and the united resistance put up the face of common difficulties. It is also brought about by the possession of certain tools of production, such awareness being manifest in the ideas and any ties that pertain to the social existence of primitive man of which we shall write further.



BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

An Aspect Blaming the victim - of Ethiopia Imperial Ideology

PART II

The June issue of HALGAN (No 20), carried the first part of this critique of Mesfin Wolde Mariam's publication: **SOMALIA — THE PROBLEM CHILD OF AFRICA**. In that part we tried to show how Wolde Mariam misused psychoanalysis in an attempt to blame the victims of colonial oppression. Accordingly he comes up with the conclusion that, the urge for self-determination and unity among the Somalis is not something historical and real, rather, it is some strange notion that «foreigners» have put into their «sheepish heads».

DENIAL OF SOMALI HISTORY.

Wolde Mariam refuses to mention anything that would remotely remind his readers about the history of Somali struggles for independence and unification.

In his 1964 «liberal» writings, Wolde Mariam does mention the name of the sixteenth century Somali hero Ahmed Gurrey. He does this in passing and in a distorted manner.

However, neither in his «liberal» writings of 1964, nor in his hysterical polemical writings of 1977, does Wolde Mariam mention the name of the Somali anticolonialist hero, the

Sayid Mohamed Abdullahi Hassan.

The silence he manifests towards the Sayid and the resistance movement he led, loudly proclaims wolde Mariam's lies and falsifications.

There is hardly a single book on the history of the Horn of Africa that does not mention the struggles of the anti-colonialist movement led by the Sayid between 1889 and 1920. Even the historians who wrote favourably about the creation of the Ethiopian Empire during the turn of the century, all of them could not help but acknowledge the historical role of the Sayid and his movement.

A Historical Study of Leadership in Eastern Africa for example, makes the following objective assessment:

«There is little doubt now, however, that Mohamed Abdullaha Hassan was a great man. With the three greatest powers in the Horn as enemies and with little access to European munitions or to coastal towns, for more than two decades not only did he harass the British, the Ethiopians, and the Italians, but he also regularly won military, political, and even diplomatic victories over them» (16)

The historical facts testifying to Somali anti-colonial

resistance, demolish Wolde Mariam's pseudo-psychology about the «colonizability» of the Somali people.

ON DIVIDE AND RULE.

Throughout his publication, Wolde Mariam heaps abuse upon abuse on the Somali people. Occassionally, he tentatively advances the notion of the «Good» vs, the «Bad» Somalis, a typical aspect of colonialist tactics. Thus at one point he tells us that the «Bad» Somalis are those that «gave away their freedom and independence» to Britain and Italy while the «Good» ones are the «Ethiopian Somalis who have no such record of dishonour» (17)

Wolde Mariam is obviously highly disturbed by the fact that Somalia represents relatively speaking, a highly homogenous society. He tries to conjure up all sorts of insurmountable «differences» among the Somali people. He deliberately distorts traditional Somali clan structures in order to depict these as serious «tribal» differences. Tribal divisions normally imply language, cultural and religious differences. Somalis in and outside the Republic are relatively free from such serious cleavages. Only a colonialist mentality would seek to distort such realities.

ON MISUSING MARX AND LENIN

Wolde Mariam states: One sympathizes with Somalia on her problem of tribalism or what Marx called «this sheep like or tribal consciousness» (18). This is typical of his biased style of writing. He read somewhere that Marx used such a phrase, he never really bothered to understand the content of Marx's discussion of rural attitudes and beliefs. Wolde Mariam is not in the least bit interested in Marx and Marxism. He borrows Marx's phrase, reduces it to an epithet and uses it several times to insult the Somalis. He repeats it often in his pamphlet hoping, perhaps, to convince the readers that Marx must have coined such a phrase specially to be used against the Somali people.

In Wolde Mariam's publication, Marx is mentioned mostly with regards to the phrase cited above. This is the way the colonialist charlatan handles the great intellectual heritage of Marx.

Similarly, he distorts Lenin's writings on the national question and self-determination. In propagating falsifications and lies, he liberally avails himself with a string of quotations from the writings of Stalin and Lenin. In this section of his publication Wolde Mariam wishes to convey the impression that he is a pendant of Marxism-Leninism.

His distortions of Marxist-Leninist concepts is so obviously cheap that it does not deserve extended treatment. It simply reflects an opportunistic intellectual eclectically borrowing from contradictory

schools of thought in order to provide new rationale for an old colonialist ideology.

Interestingly enough, Wolde Mariam concludes his blah-blah on Marxism-Leninism with the telling observation: «The working class must be protected from all those that misled it» (19). Let us pose the question: the working class must be protected by whom in other words, Wolde Mariam implies that he (and other colonialist minded intellectuals) have the divine right to control and lead the working masses within the Ethiopian Empire under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The kernel of Wolde Mariam's reasoning rests on bourgeois-colonialist grounds. The most important theme of his publication derives from the pseudopsychology misappropriated from the intellectual traditions of Mannoni and others. Marxist-Leninist phraseology, displayed in the last section of his work, signify mere window-dressing.

THE BIG LIES.

Hitler and Goebbels taught that fascist propaganda, to be more effective, must employ the technique of telling big lies. We have already illustrated a series of big lies in Wolde Mariam's writing to justify him a place as a faithful pupil of the Nazi leaders.

Let us proceed to mention a few other examples taken randomly from his 1977 publication.

Without bothering to give historical explanations Wolde Mariam at one point proclaims: «At any rate there is no doubt whatsoever that historically and culturally, there is much more in common bet-

ween the Arabs and Ethiopia than there is between Somalia and the Arabs». (20) As a lie-monger, Wolde Mariam sinks even deeper when he tries to allege that an unnamed «prominent Somalian Official» expressed sympathy with Israel on the Arab Israeli conflict. In making these and other lies Wolde Mariam is trying to poison the relations between Somalia and other Arab countries.

Once again, the truth is obviously on the other side. Writing on the Israeli connection with regards to the conflict on the Horn of Africa an American expert recently observed:

«Israeli policy in the Horn was dictated by an overwhelming confluence of converging factors: Her historical cultural affinity with Ethiopia combined with a demonstrated openness on the part of Haile Selassie; the desire to keep sea lanes open and continue to use Ethiopia as a halfway house on the way to Kenya and South Africa. Finally, Israel had been repeatedly rebuffed by the Somalis, often in the most unpleasant ways.» (21).

In spite of his cheap attempt to poison relations between Somalia and other Arab countries, Mesfin Wolde Mariam is unable to hide the antiArab mentality of the Ethiopian ruling class, for example, he throws mud at the memory of the late President Nasser. Wolde Mariam states: since the death of President Nasser his Arab Islamic dream of civilizing Africa has started to show results» (22)

In making such a distorted assessment of president Nasser's role in history, Wolde Mariam wants to demolish his important contributions to the cause of Arab resistance,

his achievements for the world wide anti-imperialist struggles and for the non-aligned movement. Furthermore, in making such false charges, Wolde Mariam wishes to ride the old bogey horse of colonialism, depicted by the late Franz Fanon in the following terms:

«Colonialism will set the African peoples moving by revealing to them the existence of spiritual rivalries. The missionaries find it opportune to speak of Arab imperialism, and the cultural imperialism of Islam is condemned. Africa is divided into black and white, and the names that are substituted — Africa South of the Sahara, Africa North of the Sahara — do not manage to hide this latent racism» (23).

NO SELF-DETERMINATION

Mesfin Wolde Mariam continues the deep-seated myth about Ethiopia, both the name and the country, which hinders and distorts genuine historical understanding. The origins of the Ethiopian Empire go back to the last eighty to ninety years. As a revolutionary Ethiopian historian correctly puts it:

In the second half of the 19th century, especially after the 1870's the shewan feudals acquired access to the then growing traffic in arms and ammunition. In a matter of a decade the monopoly of firearms was gradually reversed in their favour and they were even able to participate in the internal scramble for colonies. The predominant feature of the political history of the Horn of Africa during the last two decades of the 19th century was colonialist expansion ... a ferocious process of conquest, annexation incorporation and subjugation of peoples and territories - the creation of a typical pre-capitalist empire-state. In

the process the entire socio-political and economic foundations of modern Ethiopia were laid down. The social-historical product of this era of empire building is here characterized as military-feudal colonialism.

The Western Somalis, Eritreans and others have been waging wars of self-determination and national liberation. They have been engaged in a historical task aimed at destroying the roots of the Ethiopian military feudal colonialist system. Recognising their right for self-determination including independence paves the way to the genuine reconciliation of the fraternal peoples of the Horn.

The eminent Africanist historian Basil Davidson recently observed.

«In the circumstances of today the defence of the Ethiopian Empire «telle quelle, is neither morally nor politically feasible. And the wisdom of the outside World, in the this Whole matter, will be judged by its capacity to understand this, and to help towards constructive change». (25).

Basil Davidson incisively pointed out that the process of decolonizing the Ethiopian Empire is as much in the long term interest of the core peoples of Ethiopia, now that they have begun to reshape their political system, as is in the interest of the Somali community or, in the North of the Eritrean Community.» Davidson went on to conclude: «No creative change here, whether or not towards an organic federation such as could benefit all these peoples, can be carried to fruition without this process of reorganisation and reconciliation» (26)

Thus we see that Mesfin Wolde Mariam's writings run

contrary to genuine historical understanding. In fact, he stoops to lie-mongering and mud-slinging to confound historical right from wrong. His anti Somali outbursts reveal the despicable features of Ethiopian colonialism.

1. Mesfin Wolde Mariam, «The Background of the Ethiopia — Somalian Boundary Dispute», *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 2'2 (1964), p. 217.
2. Ibid., pp. 217-218.
3. See another illustration of this process in William Ryan, *Blaming the Victim*, (New York: Vintage Books; (1971). (
4. Mesfin Wolde Mariam Somalia-The problem Child of Africa (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing press; (1977), pp. 18-19.
5. Ibid, — (17)
6. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove press, Inc, (1963), p. 211.
7. Aime Cesaire, *Discourse on colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press; (1972), pp. 39-40.
8. Ibid pp. 40-41.
9. Wolde Mariam, op. cit; p. 72.
10. Ibid, p. 24
11. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
12. Aimme Cesaire, op. cit, p. 41
13. Wolde Mariam, op. cit., 16
14. Ibid; p. 44.
15. Ibid, p. 45.
16. Norman R. Bennett (ed). *Leadership in Eastern Africa*, (Boston: Boston University press; 1968), p. 108.
17. Wolde Mariam, op. cit., p. 54.

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| 18. Ibid., p. 26. | 22. Wolde Mariam, op. cit. p. 25 | African Political Economy: 1975), p. 3. |
| 19. Ibid., p. 68. | 23. Frantz Fanon, <i>the Wretched of the Earth</i> , pp. 160. 161. | 25. Basil Davidson, letter to the <i>TIMES</i> (London) of January 28th, 1978. |
| 20. Ibid., p. 36. | 24. Addis Hiwet, <i>Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution</i> (London: Review of | 26. Basil Davidson, letter to the <i>TIMES</i> (London) of January 24, 1978. |
| 21. Michael A. Ledeen, «The Isreali Connection», in the <i>Washington Review</i> (May, 1978,) pp. 48. 49. | | |

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

By Amina Haji Adan
and Reviewed by Boobe

The children are thirsty for the literature of their forebears. The lack of a script has caused much lot to this rich heritage, and there is no doubt that foreign customs have influenced our children to the extreme and removed them very far from the literature and traditions of their fathers and ancestors. New hopes were inspired in the Somali people when the supreme Revolutionary Council decreed that the Somali language shall be written. To quote Garriye in the introduction of this book. «Our Language was saved for the first time from abolition». Immediately the script was legalized research was set on foot and writers began publishing books thus reviving our language.

This book on children's literature was written by Amina Haji Aden, a teacher at the college of Education at Lafole. It is one of the books of the greatest value, considering the readership it is aimed at and its contents. It will be one of the most widely read books. How many Somali children will read it? The Book consists of eighty-nine pages, and it is made up of many parts. It consists of fifteen stories, seventeen songs, two children's games, word competition, tongue - twisters

and riddles.

There is no doubt that this book will play a great role in the upbringing of the Somali child which has been out of touch for a long time with the Somali Literature that has remained unexplored previously. There is no language difficulty among our people due to their homogeneity, although there might be slight differences from one region to another I do not doubt that the stories and songs written in this book will be known differently in different places. In spite of this they are all of Somali origin. Among the well known stories are «Dheg-Dheer». This story has been depicted in the past in several pictures, a fact that shows the lack of a script. In the games and tongue - twisters you would find that the use of vocabulary changes sometimes from place to place but that the essence remains the same.

I recall that one of the best stories missing in this book is that of «Egal Shidad» and his cowardice. However, the writer has made considerable effort.

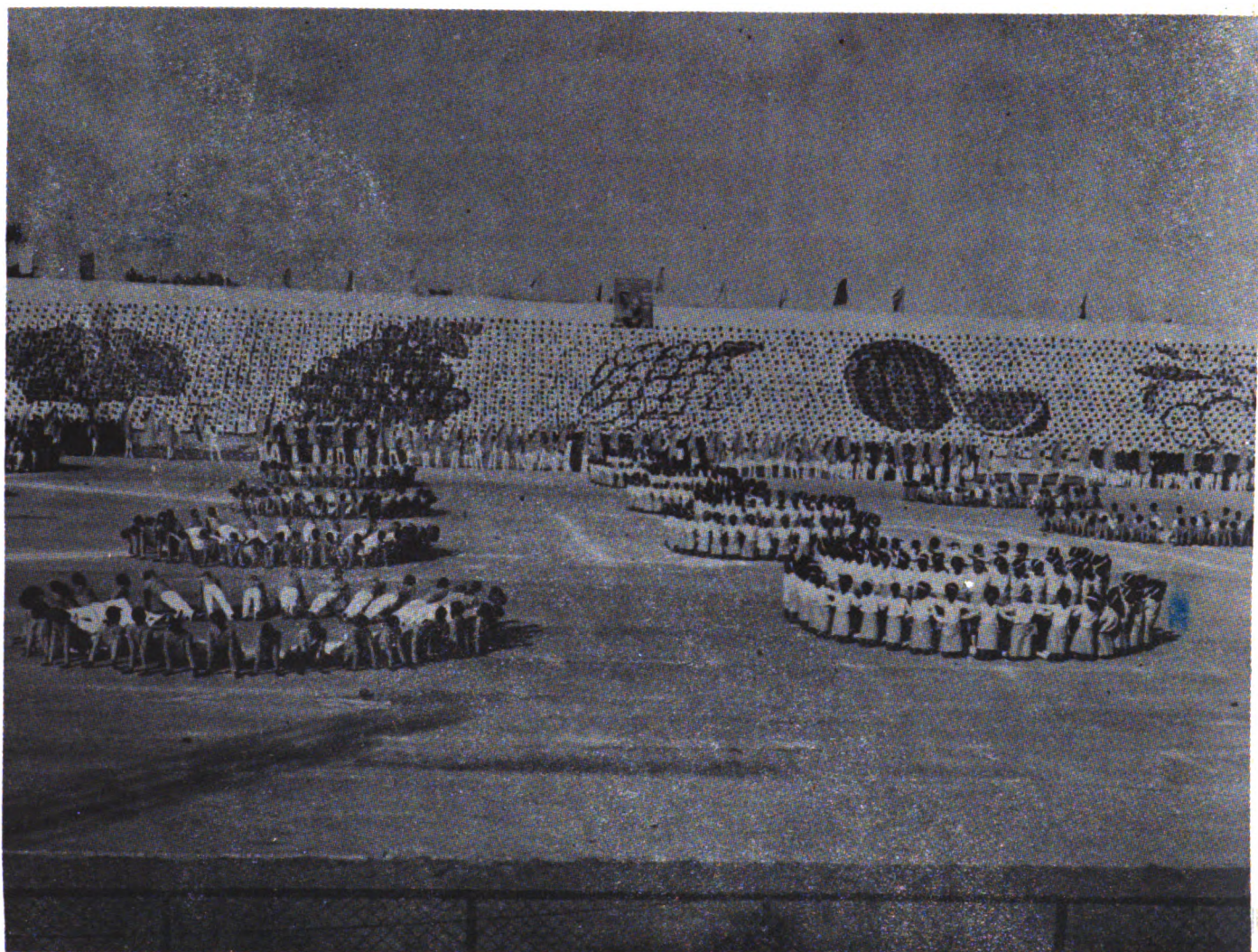
To come to the main issue, the book is eighty nine pages and contains all the parts we have mentioned above. But in the light of our social development, the book is not in the

tradition of good reading material. Children are moulded according to the environment in which they live. It is certain, however that they will acquire the reading habits of their parents. Hence if our reading habits are not that strong, our children cannot be very different from us.

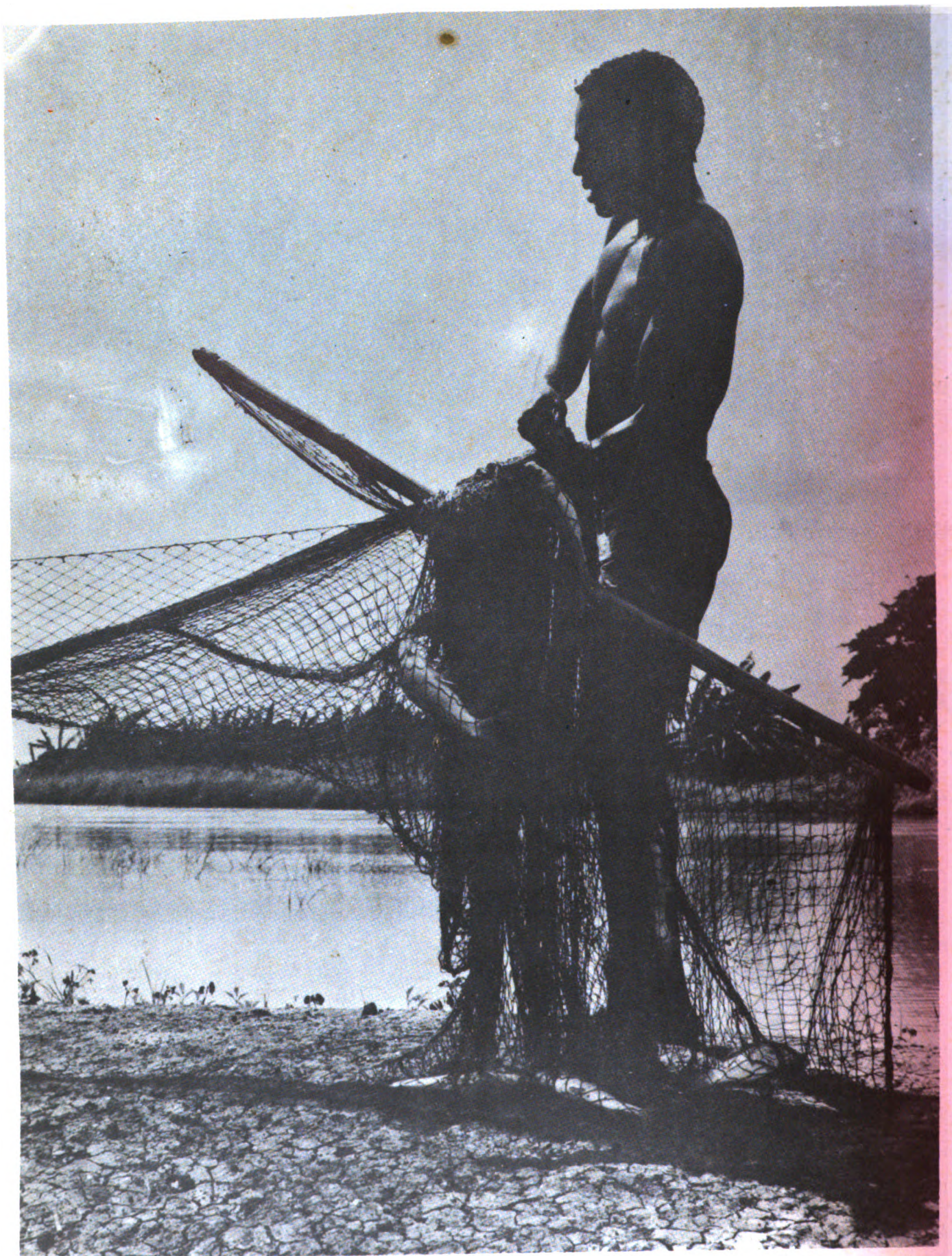
The reading capacity of children is not very great, particularly is this so in the case of nomadic children. I think that it would have been more beneficial if Amina Haji Aden had divided the book into two parts in the interests of the meagre patience of Children. The two sections of the book could have been divided on the basis of age, the longest and most difficult parts being written for the older children and the rest for the younger.

On the Production side the book is attractive. The picture, the quality of printing and the layout all bear testimony to the great amount of effort and time spent making the book up-to-date.

Finally, I congratulate her work, hoping that this will not be her last. We have still much more material in store for which our children have their written tongue to put for them in black and white.



October Revolution Youths Festival

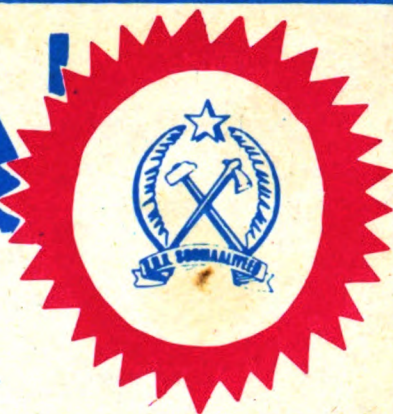


River Resources: A Younth fishing in Shebele river

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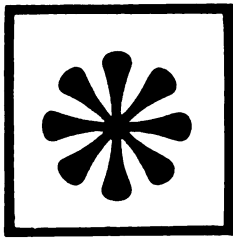
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EDITORIAL

The Baghdad Summit

In the first week of November, Presidents and Kings of Arab states held their summit Conference in Baghdad.

This conference was called by the Iraqi government. Further the conference was held at a hot time concerning the divergent views of the Arab states with respect to Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel. Therefore other main theme of that conference was the prevention of schism in Arab Unity, solidarity and strengthening of their cooperation. Thus, the majority of Arab states have accepted Iraqi invitation for the above conference. Obviously each Arab state realises the immense need for strengthening Arab solidarity.

The heads of state conference was preceded by foreign Ministers conference which prepared the agenda for the aforesaid summit. The summit conference studied the agenda prepared by Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Kuwait. Consequently divergent views surfaced to the floor concerning certain matters. For example, the question concerning Camp David accords ways and means of re-examining of the strategic balance of power in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the examination of the divergent views of each state concerning the topics under discussions efforts have been made to pinpoint the small points that could be agreed upon. The President of Iraq Ahmed Hassan Al Bakar, has made reference to these points at the opening of the summit conference.

Accordingly, each state presented its view points concerning the agenda under discussions and after the holding of the bilateral discussions among the delegates present in the conference, a political declaration has been made, summarising major items of agreements. Among these agreements were:

Arab people's rights in general and in particular the rights of the Palestinian people, that is an understanding has been reached to strengthen previous decisions arrived by Arab heads of state conference held in Rabat, and Algiers. These decisions concerned the determination of liberating Arab Territories occupied by Israel in the war of 1967, the first being the Holy City of Jerusalem and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in returning to their homelands, their rights to self-determi-

nation and the establishment of an independent state of their own state by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation which is the sole legal organization representing the Palestinian people.

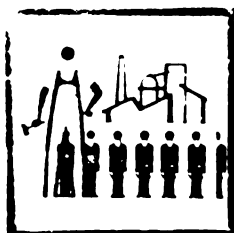
On the other hand, the Summit conference of Baghdad has unanimously agreed upon the refusal of «Camp David» accords and their consequences in the political, economic, law, etc. Moreover, declaration has been made to issue decisions compatible with the present new stage confronting the Arab Nation and as well safeguarding its objectives.

Other news circulated in the conference pointed out that secret decisions were made at the summit of heads of state concerning steps to be undertaken against the Egyptian government in the event of her signature of the «Camp David» accords. Likewise, the conference agreed on extending economic assistance to Arab States in direct confrontation with Israel. These states are: Syria, Jordan and Palestine.

It is doubtless, to say that Arab solidarity is the backbone of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Any weakness of such solidarity will foster Israel political obduracy in her refusal to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

In fact Israel has been pursuing this dangerous policy because of her intimate ties with international imperialism. As a matter of fact, strengthening of Arab solidarity and unity is the most viable way of eliminating Israel plots against the Arab nation.

In the light of the aforesaid, the summit conference of Baghdad was a forward step in the right direction by removing misunderstanding undermining Arab solidarity in general and particularly in arriving at a consensus concerning vital issues confronting the Arab Nation. Among them is the vital issue dealing with legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the Camp David accords which are seen by the majority of Arab states not representing a viable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Lastly, it must be admitted that the Baghdad Summit Conference represent broad consensus of political outlook of the Arab States that is arriving at a common denominator for the continuation and consolidation of the Arab states solidarity and unity.



POLITICAL, SOCIAL & ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

DABADHEER DROUGHT: Somalia's greatest natural and Environmental Challenge

By, EREG

Mankind has had to face endless series of challenges and to surmount various kinds of hazards in the course of its long march towards survival, stability and progress. Political upheavals, economic crises, and social or environmental disturbances can cause major repercussions in a society. Such problems can be traced to man's own wrong judgment or mishandling of situations. But over and above this, there are objective processes also contributing to man's suffering. But natural calamities, far beyond human control, turn out to be potential sources of untold danger to mankind. Earthquakes, the thunderstorms, landslides, floods, outbreak of epidemic diseases etc, cause large-scale destruction in the World.

A few years ago, Somalia was hit by severe storms along the North Eastern coastal areas. In addition, scorching

drought has been a regular source of untold destruction. Of these bouts of dry spells, eleven had caused large-scale suffering in the country, the worst ones having been those in 1817, 1847, 1950-51, 1958-59, and 1964-65.

The «Daba dheer, drought of 1974 has, however, broken all the previous records of destruction. By November 1974, the country had got into its painful grip and the magnitude of the drought and its destructive scope were immediately realised by the Government and people. However the challenge of nature was faced by the entire population with immense courage and conference. Strong means were taken to mitigate the suffering of the people. The very foundations of normal life were shaken but the Revolutionary government adopted well-planned measures to check the extent of damages and to open up new alleys.

The flourishing agricultural and fishing coöperatives are the outcome of these measures.

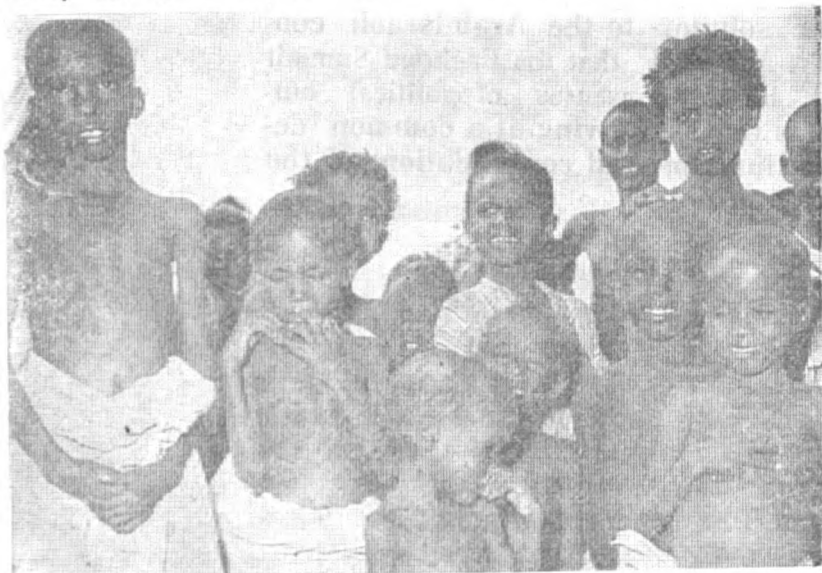
The drought began sweeping down the eastern slopes of the Sahara belt by the early months of 1972, the fiery streaks of drought began showing up in the eastern regions like Togdheer, Sanaag, Bari and the Nugal plains.

A BRIEF GEOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SDR

The Horn of Africa juts out of the massive second largest land mass on its north eastern region. It is weighed down the Ethiopian high mountains on its base. Two rivers carefully cut across the mountainous eastern side and descend gently towards the fertile plains untill they reach the fish invested Indian Ocean.

From these Ethiopian eastern slopes began the creeping drought. By the early month of 1972 the fiery streaks of licking drought blasts steadily showed up in our Eastern regions like Togdheer, Sanaag, Bari and the Nugal plains. By 1974 the Eastern and Northern regions completely changed into extensive dust bowls. The drought gradually crept to the Southwest in a few months and consequently crippled eight regions drying up both lifesupporting rivers, and began the process of wiping off traces of human life.

The drought first swallo-



wed up plant life, affecting livestock next. It brought the nomadic people to their knees very soon. The drying of the two rivers caused untold destruction of products, with the attendant shortage of food products and rising prices.

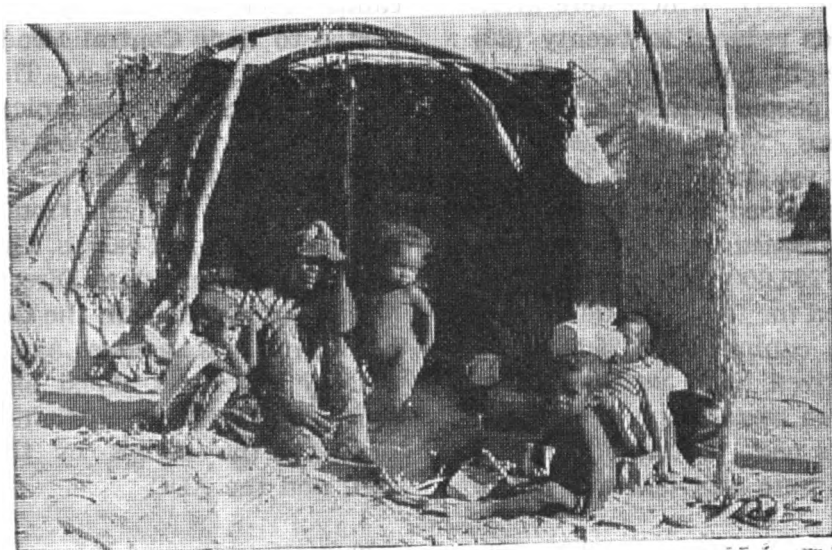
THE POLICIES OF MOBILISATION TO COUNTERACT THE DHOUGHT.

By November 1974 the destruction had reached such proportions that on the 31st S.R.C. was alerted.

Their meetings resulted in the imposition of a state of emergency, with the declaration that this constituted a dangerous and ominous natural calamity. It was a grave moment and it needed concerted action. Fortunately enough, the right decisions were immediately taken, and there was no equivocation as to the steps undertaken. Two important steps which led to the most effective means of facing the challenge were taken. The first step was the mobilisation of the nation's potentialities. The second was the immediate allocation of a huge amount of money (152,500,000 Shs for the drought stricken areas).

The ministries, the armed forces, various government agencies, social organizations and the student community were all called upon to spare no efforts in the saving more than one and a half million Somalis from the grip of the disaster. Doctors, and other medical personnel and equipment were put at the disposal of the people in affected areas.

The literacy campaign was in full swing in the rural areas at that crucial time. Students and teachers engaged in this campaign in different



parts of the country in the field had earlier sent reports of the impending drought and the likelihood of destruction and suffering. The declaration of the drought outbreak to the world was followed by the nation. The president delivered important speeches calling for the urgent co-operation of the people. «It is our ultimate objective to reassure our people that the lives of every Somali will be saved from hunger and thirst», The president firmly declared. This in fact became the ideal objective of every Somali citizen.

The motto was to «Save the people first, and the animals next», it was in fact a battle for survival. The initial move was to take food, water and medicine to the affected areas. Both Government and private transport were assigned to meet the dire need of taking necessary medical and relief food material to the affected areas. Various international organizations and friendly countries responded to the call and came to our assistance. Material aid and help came from many institutions.

The intensive studying of reports from the drought affected areas led to the classification

of the areas and peoples concerned according to the degree of loss suffered by them. Those people who lost only part of their animal wealth belonged to the first category. The others who were completely deprived of all their animals belonged to the other category deserving special consideration.

The former category were sold cheaper food as a concession for their material loss. Their animals were instantly transported to better areas. The latter category were given free water and food. The resources of the entire nation were directed so as to work around the clock, and this of course increased the financial burdens to be met by our revolutionary state.

Suffering brought hearts and minds together and the common goal in the alleviation of misery forged a sense of unity. And varied civil servants took the initiative by forming committees and sub-committees. The impoverished people were grouped in appropriate places. Soon after huge centres known as the Rehabilitation camps were set-up in December 1974. By January 1975 the number of Rehabilitation camps reached thirty

seven (37) which were afterwards reduced to twenty (20) in eight regions. Poor homeless people journeyed to those camps with gov't help. It was estimated that 1988 persons joined the camps each day. Based on reliable statistics 268,000 persons were well-cared for in the Rehabilitation camps and 1,250,000 were given help outside them. Those were people whose animals had partially perished, but were still left with some

International institutions, friendly nations and humanitarian societies provided technical assistance. Social organisations and business-men in Somalia collected 7,300,000/— apart from putting in maximum technical and other efforts. The experience of previous disastrous events and the practical lessons learned from the various campaign like the illiteracy campaign and the optimistic efforts of the people helped much in dealing with and controlling damages caused by the drought.

Transport facilities posed the most difficult problem. Lorries were available but needed expensive spare parts. Rehabilitation camps were remote and far inland, and the roads were in terrible condition.

The 496 vehicles working for them travelled along dusty, rough and sometimes badly damaged roads. The problem of communication was adequately solved by setting up a Telegraph system in every

camp which was directly connected to their Central Headquarter, in Mogadisho. The Armed Forces Communication's Centre and their outposts were strictly instructed to keep in touch with all troubled areas and relief camps. The Central Headquarters Directly Communicated with the Government autonomous Agencies and Ministries. Food and other supplies were efficiently carried to the camps by the ENC and the ADC.

The alertness and the spirit of dedication displayed by the 1300 University Students in the field, the Government civil servants, the representatives of Social Organizations, members of the Somali red cross, the Guuldayaal and others deserve special mention in this context. They contributed a great deal towards saving and rehabilitating their badly affected countrymen. The outstanding administration of the relief camps was due to the cooperative efforts of various branches such as:

- a) The statistical operation centre
- b) Water and food distribution
- c) Sound distribution of medicine
- d) Job training and orientation
- e) Recording, accounting and better communication.

All the above function worked in a smooth, honest and effective way.

The following table slows the details of food distribution.

FOOD	ADULTS (GRMS)	YOUNG (GRAMS)
Rice	250 Gr.	100
Maize (or millet)	300	150
Ghee	47	20
Milk	20	40
Meat (3 days a week)	250	250
Sugar	50	25
Dates	30	30

Maize, Millet and Rice were given to every person alternately.

When the drought was over the Statistical Committee Assessed the magnitude of the damages suffered by the country, which stands as follows: 700,000 cows, 720,000 camels, 5,700,000 sheep and goats. The toll of human life was estimated reached a little above 19,000.

In conclusion the daba-dheer was a highly damaging drought, but in a way it was blessed in disguise since it inspired and brought into reality one of the most beneficial programmes our revolution has thus far implemented. That is the resettlement programme which today is a viable one, and is playing a transforming role. This will be discussed in further article in the coming issues of Halgan.

On Economy and Crime

By Mohamed H. Tani

Economy is one of the factors that influence a criminal act. However, the main issue is how poverty affects the commitment of criminal.

Some scholars contend that neither need, nor poverty facilitate the commitment of a crime, but it is a sobering fact that both need and poverty which result from an inadequate economic situation cause the commitment of a crime and in particular robbery, theft, looting, and prostitution.

The statistics of Shaldon indicate that poverty is the cause of the crimes the youth commit. In his research Shaldon studied 500 youth in the U.S.A. and his results were supported by another research study on 200 youth by Harvard University in 1950.

Similar results were reached by other researchers in Somalia on 70 criminal boys in 1974. The results of this study show that all these youngsters who committed theft were illiterate and were brought up in the regions and not the main city of Mog. and were suffering from a lack of education or lack of care or as a result of their parents' divorce. (See the article by Dr. Mohamed H. Tani in the law magazine, issue 5, published in Oct. 1974) The other results of such researches is that the commitment of certain crimes as the economic situation improves while such crimes increase as a result of an economic crisis examples of such crimes is murder, robbery, bribery and embezzlement. Some of the crimes that increase in economic improvement are humanity cheating, and a high rate of

ligular consumption or alcoholism.

The experts in criminology prove that inflation increases. Even if the price of bread or other necessary item increase by one cent the rate of crime increases and multiply several times in theft, bribery, and embezzlement.

The inflation of the price may cause the scarcity a market as only far could afford the consumption of the dear items. This hence may result in unemployment and those who lost their job would endanger the society as they will join the other criminals.

An adequate solution is required to overcome unemployment and the economic problems that emerge from price fluctuation which is common in the capitalist developed countries. In the socialist world unemployment, economic problems or price fluctuation don't exist. Even if price inflation occurs the necessary measures are taken so that the masses don't suffer because there is a planned economy that solves unemployment problems and an economic crises take place in the capitalist countries with all the aforementioned crimes that it engenders.

Numerous debates and wide disagreements arise from the relations between the general economic policy and the commitment of a crime.

Although political scientists differ on opinions about crimes according to the various systems they live under, it is becoming more and more clear that under capitalism the crime wave is greater than in so-

cialist countries. William Adrain says, capitalism is the source of crime, for it encourages competition in commerce for the greatest surplus value. Since capitalism safeguards such interests it naturally acts as an instrument for spreading crime such as treachery and murder that serve to boost the capitalist economy by finding a suitable market for goods; what is also characteristic of capitalism are the offences committed by the news paper and this is due to the Unlimited Freedom of the press given to them.

The view of crime has been debated by many authorities one of them being Ra'uuf Ubeyd who says 'murder and teachery are not peculiar to any political system just as extra hours of work and ignorance are not used by any particular group'.

Truly this view is not supported by the realities of life because the life of a nation, its economy, its customs and traditions may be at a different level from another. Likewise, economic problems are not determined by an economic system because nations are different from one another in economic development and historical experience. Nations also differ in terms of natural Poverty and the realities of life of culture and civilization.

Nevertheless, from experience we know that this idea is not based on reality and the fact that from the beginning we can say that capitalism is the main cause of the spread of crime. Is there disagreement that unemployment is one of the main factors that

cause the commitment of a crime? Is there any debate that poverty and economic problems are the source of crimes such as prostitution, looting, theft etc? There is no debate about the cause of such crimes that is based on economy.

There is no debate that the capitalist world faces daily economic problems of permanent fluctuation, a peculiar feature for capitalism, inflation of price at an increasing rate day after day and other economic crises. Similarly, there is no doubt that poverty of the lower classes is caused by the capitalist system.

All the aforementioned mishaps are directly or indirectly related to the economic situation and they are the factors that influence the commitment of such crimes; most of political system.

For an illustration: Illiteracy is one of the factors that result in the spread of crimes. Therefore, socialism struggles against illiteracy and encourages mass education compelling it on the whole society. A sobering fact is obvious in a comparative analysis of statistical estimation between the illiterate Somali individuals before the Revolution and the present mass literacy. We all remember the struggle and the victories achieved in the illiteracy campaign for the rural development.

Such a campaign is a common act for all socialist states as it is based on socialist principles. In the capitalist states, there is no equal opportunity for education as it needs a considerable finance and poor have no access to knowledge. Thus many people don't get the opportunity for education as far as they are not financially well off.

Moreover, the class difference, the exploitation of the weak and the authority of the rich to block the progressive opportunities for the poor create a feeling of injustice and the emergence of banditry and armed groups rebelling against the politico-economic system of capitalism, as the case is in some parts of Western Europe, such as Italy and West Germany where the Red Banner Mafia and «Badrmeyn Hof» create instability. Every country has a certain amount of natural resources and there is a great difference in technological development and historical inheritance and their transmission which may or may not affect the commitment of crimes. But there is the possibility that an economically developed country may suffer more crimes than an undeveloped country. Thus there is no other way to justify the occurrence of crimes except to indicate the main source as the political system.

In the above analysis we see that economy is the main factor to influence the commitment of crimes although some scholars contend that the politico-economic system has no relation with crimes, but as we have mentioned it is not based on the scientific facts that there is a strong relationship between the two.

As an illustration here follows a statistic research concerning the criminal activities in Somalia during the Revolutionary era in comparison to those before the Revolution.

In the year 1969 when the Revolution was born 6236 were brought before the regional and district courts for punishment. And in 1974, 7076 punishable cases were recorded in the country. In 1975 the number of such cases was 8,872

and in 1976, 9125.

In the last two years crime the rest are affected in a general and indirect way by the was on the increase and this was due to the long period of drought that hit the country, bringing much suffering and distress to the nation's economy or to the life of individuals. As a result, crimes of robbery and embezzlement multiplied. The percentage of embezzlement was estimated at about 46.36%. Statistics show us that:

a) The economic situation determines the rate of crimes and that in 1975-76, the rate rose especially in regard to the crimes connected with theft of public funds.

b) The political situation plays a great role in the fluctuation of the rates of crimes. This is manifested by the fact that crime rates were low in 1974 and in 1975.

It is also noteworthy that the incidence of such ugly crimes like murder has fallen. In 1969 in the Benadir Region only 30 murders were committed in 1975 only 8 throughout the country and since then there have been very few cases.

One of the determining factors for this political change is the political system we have adopted which is socialism and the administration of the socialist economy, because we have come very near abolishing all unemployment. And this has been made possible by the educational opportunities and facilities put at the disposal of the people, without economic or language limitations, in the conviction that knowledge breeds a love for society in the individual and a sense of fellow feeling and cooperation.

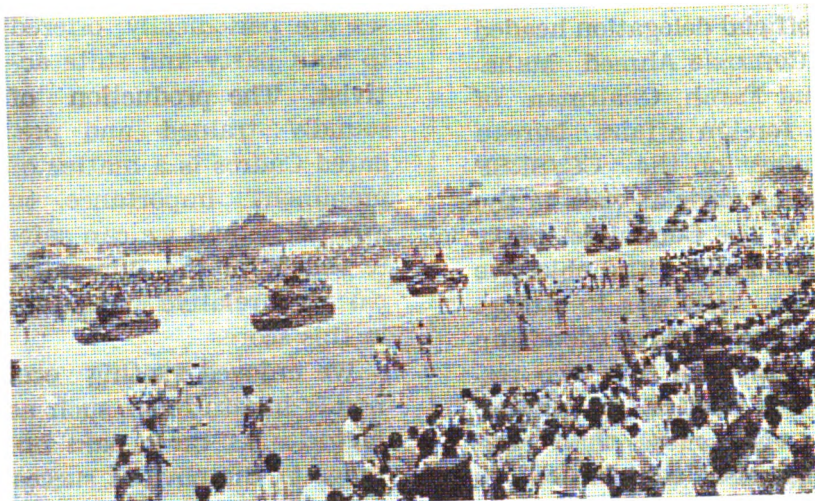


PARTY LIFE

9th Anniversary Celebrations of the 21st October Revolution

Since the inception of the 21st October Revolution it has become habitual and a regular practice for the Somali nation to widely celebrate this occasion highly every year. The October celebrations are not solely conducted to commemorate this historical day, but most crucially in is an opportunity when Party, the state and the entire Nation pause for a critical assessment, evaluation and reappraisal of the tasks implemented, and the new ones to be embarked upon.

This year's celebrations were rather different and contrasted with the previous ones on two main grounds. On the one hand, it was necessary to compare between two periods: that is the first 9 years of independence when the country was under predominantly bourgeois regimes, which was the case in most of the liberated countries. The comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie along with the national bourgeoisie was successful to seize power since they championed the nationalist cause, and in fact led it at the same time. The immaturity of the proletariat or its non-existence facilitated the bourgeoisie to gain monopoly over political life. In spite of anti-imperialist slogans the bourgeois regimes thoroughly attached and integrated themselves with in-



ternational monopoly and their capitalist way of development, which resulted in mal-administration, corruption, nepotism, tribalism, economic underdevelopment and chaos. The second 9 years of the revolutionary era, on the other hand witnessed gigantic socio-economic transformations made possible by the non-capitalist path vigorously pursued by the country. Thanks to this, great gains were made and the pace of development increased resulting in fundamental changes in the system of social relations. On the other hand it was essential to authentically prove and demonstrate the unity and militancy of the Somali working people on this particular occasion. Since the colonialist and neo-colonial forces are launching tireless campaigns and are hatching numerous conspiracies against the de-

mocratic forces and the Somali people in general, their main target being to destroy the socialist path of development and undermine our people's unity and sovereignty.

The democratic forces of our country have proved in the celebrations of October this year, their capability to counter-attack the imperialist forces and their agents in the country by cementing the unity of the people and holding aloft the banner of Scientific Socialism.

The honourable guest delegations of journalists, writers and the various others who have been either officially invited or came on their accord, all witnesses by themselves the gigantic strides registered by the SDR and most certainly will pass their own experiences

to their respective nations and peoples.

The facts, figures and a true and an honest picture of Somalia in the Revolutionary era will emerge. The Somali experience has fur-

ther demonstrated the unacceptability of the capitalist system an obsolete and out mode d one, whereas socialism has proved itself to be the result of the richest experience and legacy of cu-

mulative human thought.

The struggle of the working class all over the world has proved the inevitability of socialism in our globe, as it alone ensures freedom, peace and prosperity.

Party delegation visits Rumania

On the 4th October 1978 an official delegation headed by Comrade Ahmed Mahmoud Farah, Chairman of the foreign affairs bureau member of the CC/SRSP paid an official visit to the CC/of the Communist party of Rumania. The objective of tht visit was to streng. then the bonds of friendship between the two respective parties and peoples. The visit more than anything else contributed to the exchange of ideas and experiences characteristic of the creative application of shared socialist principles in the specific conditions obtaining in the two countries.

The CC/SRSP delegation were welcomed by comrade Vasile Muscat CC member of the CRR and head of the international relations department, and his deputy comrade Constantin Vasillu. While in the socialist Republic of Rumania the Somali Party delegation met representatives of the different departments of the CPR, and social organisations. We had extensive discussions with the organisation departments; Women and Youth representatives. A visit was also paid to the party academy of San Gheorghe where we gained a comprehensive idea of how party and states cadres were trained both theoretically and practically, and how

popular refreshment courses are periodically offered to both party and state activist. The production of soundly trained and prepared Cadres is a matter of preminent importance to any party, and we can safely vouch for the Rumanian party's relative successes in this score.

We enjoyed visiting economic institutions such as factories as these paid homage to the obvious successes at socialist economic transformation which Rumania achieved in the last 30.yrs from a weak, predominantly agrarian society socialist Rumania has attained a medium sized technological development which is a precondition for the multilaterally socialist society which the 11th Party congress Committed itself to. The flourishing of socialist democracy at the shopfloor through the workers council, and comrade working toge ther of both management and workers ensures the rapid socio-economic development which Rumania is registering.

Our understanding of the role of socialist Rumania in the world arena hinging on the tireless struggle for peace and socialism, the new economic order, the strengthening of the non-alignment and democratic forces became more mature

and enlightened. The Somali Party delegation could but appreciate Rumania's strong advocacy of disarmament and correspondingly the support for greater and unconditioned aid to developing countries. Rumania's hostility and vigorous opposition to interference in the internal affairs of other countries since this rules out naked foreign aggression won our blessing.

The strong condemnation of imperialist aggressive designs against the developing countries was a stand which our two parties unmistakably shared.

The CC/SRSP delegation submitted our party's thinking regarding the complex world situation with specific reference to the affairs in the African horn and our party and state's political assessment of the situation. We spelt out the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party's support for the national liberation struggle in the Somali West Abbo & Eriteria. At the sometimes we expressed our disquiet at the Russo.Cuban dangerous interference in the purely African affairs obtaining in the horn. We stated that the violation of state sovereignty, and the fundamental rights of peoples right to self-determination as dictated by socialist principles militates against the best

interests of the toiling masses in our countries. The increased instability in our region, the heightening of the chances of the break out of war, contradicts the peoples urge to live in peace, and the dedicate all resources available to economic reconstruction and social emancipation. We impressed upon our Rumanian Comrades Somali Democratic Republic's stated policy in sparing no efforts to consolidate the ties of friendship and good neighbourly relations will all countries

and peoples in the horn, on condition that this takes stock of the historical inequities and injustices, to meet the interests of the people which lies in democracy, socialism and peace.

The exchange of views and experiences between progressive parties, on a continuous and permanent basis obviously contributes to bring them closer, and at the sametime goes to iron out the minor differences that from time to time arise. On the whole the two

parties basically agreed to accelerate the process of cooperation and mutual, reciprocal assistance to one another in all fields particularly in cadre training. Doubtlessly the SRSP's visit to the Republic of socialist Rumania on all grounds can be assessed as a successful consolidation of ties with the Rumanian Communist Party. We can only fervently hope that the years to come will see further consummation of the undying ties between the two brotherly parties.

Friendly Visit

The visit which was concluded at the first week of this month by an official delegation led by comrade Keng Pio the Vice-Premier of the Peoples Republic of China to SDR was of significant importance to both countries and peoples. Since independence in 1960 Somalia has developed friendly relations with China, and since the inception of the 21st Oct. Revolution in Somalia, relations between the two countries has developed

at a rapid hence. Consequently the Chinese government has sponsored many projects in Somalia, either on an aid basis or on long term loans with the low interest rates. Therefore, the warm welcome accorded to comrade Keng Pio and his delegation on arrival at Mogadisho International Airport was a strong proof for the warm cordiality and affection linkens the two peo-

ples for.

Comrade King Pio and his delegation visited, during their stay in Somalia several Projects accomplished with Chinese assistance namely the Cigraette and match factory, the Mogadisho Football Stadium and Benadir Maternity and Children Hospital. During his visits, our guest accompanied by Vice-President Hussein Kulmie Afrah - Member of the Central Committee of the S.R.S.P. were warmly recieved by the Somali workers in the respective projects.

Comrade King Pio also met many high ranking and important personalities and had lengthy discussions with them as to the ways and means of further strengthening the relations between the two countries.

Before his visit came to

an end Comrade Keng Pio had an official meeting with the Secretary General of the SRSP, the President of Somali Democratic Republic Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. The two leaders have exchanged views on the international situation and discussed problems which are of mutual interest to both parties and nations.

Comrade Keng Pio was the second high ranking Chinese delegatino to Somalia since the beginning of this year. Similar Somali delegations have paid visits and participated in seminars held in the peoples Republic of China. All these visits seminars and discussions are nothing but signal that the two countries and leaderships are seeking to consolidate all possible and mutually beneficial fields of co-operation between the two socialist states.

Chairman of foreign Affairs Bureau Meets the Rumanian C.P. Delegation

On the 25th of October 1978, a two man delegation from the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Cisu Ilie, CC member and Deputy Minister of Labour and Comrade Nicolae Ion, from the foreign Relations Department of the CC of the Romanian Communist Party, left Mogadishu for Bucharest, after a four day friendly visit to the SDR.

The delegation was invited by the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Celebrations for the 21st Oct. Socialist Revolution of 1969.

Therefore, in the morning of the 25th of October, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Bureau Comrade Ahmed Mohamoud Farah, met the Romanian Communist Party delegation headed by Comrade Cisu Ilie, where they exchanged views pertaining to all round cooperation and the further cementing of the good existing relations between the two fraternal parties, governments.

and peoples of the Somali Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Likewise, they discussed the burning issues of the world such as the present conflict in the Horn of the Africa, the Middle East and Southern Africa, and they expressed identical views pertaining to the above issues. However, with respect to the question of the Horn, they agreed on the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area in order to arrive at a peaceful solution of the present conflict and that lasting and just solution of the conflict lies in the application of the principle of self-determination to the people of area. During the delegation's stay in the SDR, they paid visit to the LOWER and CENTRAL SHABELLE REGIONS. They were warmly received by the party Regional and District secretaries, social organizations representatives, flowers of the revolution, and the masses at large.

In the LOWER SHABEL

LE Region the delegation paid a visit to the stabilization of sand-dunes at Shalambot, Agriculture commune of the ex-nomads at Kurtunwaaray, the National Bannans farm at Golweyn and the Village of Jannale. While in the central Shebelle Region they visited Balad Textile Factory, and its irrigation Scheme and in Jowhar, the Snai Bi-asa factory and its Dam Reservoir.

In conclusion, the Romanian Communist party delegation in their visit to the above regions were highly impressed with the party activities and the social organisations. Further they have seen on their eyes the Somali people's desire for peace and their continuous work for the socio-economic and political development for their country under the leadership of the SRSP, the party of the new type and guidance of the secretary General of the SRSP and president of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre.

**COMRADES DON'T MISS
YOUR ENGLISH ISSUE OF
HALGAN EVERY MONTH**



WORLD AFFAIRS

REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE

"Socialism and the Third World"

On the 25th - 29th of October this year, a Conference with the above title was held in the beautiful small village of Cavtat which is situated in the Croatia Republic of the federal Republic of Yugoslavia. There in Cavtat with exquisite beauty lending itself to quiet, but controversial thought provoking intellectual debates and discourses was held. A great number of socialist theoreticians, in both the academic and practical spheres met for the third time running to peruse and exhaustively deal with the content trends and tendencies of the struggle for socialism in the vast territories that constitutes the third world. Doubtlessly the reason why countless socialist scholars from all the five continents considered this topic to be elaborately dealt with is underlined by the fact that as yet successful conclusions to the enormous social emancipation struggles in the immensely exploited third world countries await to manifest themselves to prominence. It is here that the two contending social systems are locked up in acute competition with capitalism trying to keep firm grips to its ill gotten booty whereas socialism, as the emerging social system is fast proving its viability, and its inevitable superiority over the Capitalist World order.

The over 200 scholars who met in Cavtat for those 5 days represented the whole spec-

trum of the socialist movement, and represented parties, social organisations and independent groupings. Delegates from the European, socialist movement had an incontestable numerical superiority, nonetheless Afro-Asian and Latin American countries were reasonably represented. The numerical disproportionality did not in the least detract from the rich conceptual analysis of the multiple dimensions of socialist struggle in a third world context. Numerous articles were submitted on a host of topics pertaining to the subject-matter of the seminar. Most importantly articles were submitted on the nature of socialist orientation, the relationship between the socialist and third world countries and the nature and role of the State in various fields in the third world. Topics such as non-alignment and the struggle for socialism in the third world were taken up and comprehensively dealt with. Moreover the specifics of the struggles for socialism by marxist-Leninist and democratic parties in individual countries, and socialist application and construction in others were reasonably underscored. Comrades from advanced Capitalist countries enlightened the audience on the novel situation obtaining in their countries, and the new paths of combined strategic and tactical assessments this necessitates. In this regard the new doctrine of Euro-Com-

munist was approached, and as a new doctrine it attracted quite an attention, some of which was favoured, whereas strong critical remarks and evaluations were registered against it. All the same the discussions on all the Topics were extremely interesting and intensely receptive. Notwithstanding the fact that at times wide disagreements were expressed on certain fundamental issues, yet it could confidently be stated that on the whole the Communion and identity of both theoretical conviction was the more predominating and decisive factor all along. A spirit of tolerance pervaded the conference, henceforth dissenting voices were given an attentive hearing, though a quick and justifiable counter balancing replies were given if the dissention went to the extreme of casting aspersions to the fundamentals of socialist theory and practice.

Certain articles submitted in the conference by representatives of the new French philosophical school and some independent Italian socialists amounted to heretical negation of the essence of scientific socialism and accordingly a well deserved rebuff from the vast number of honourable delegates. These heretical views spelt out a distorted and revisionist conceptualisation of socialist theory and thus did not go well with the principles which

the vast majority of the participants upheld. This is a proof that the purity of the socialist theory has its dedicated adherents and friends who will never allow it to be tampered with and compromised. The same treatment was meted out to those scholars who tried to cast doubt on the efficacy of the principles of socialist orientation by portraying it as a strategy impossible to be carried out. The idea was whole heartedly agreed upon that whatever hardships which were to be confronted, whatever hurdles were to be scaled, in order to build socialism in the third world it was worth all the efforts engaged in this indisputably showed the minimum and maximum view of dialectically uniting the minimum and Maximum programme, or in other words harmonising the tactical and strategic unity of any socialist programme. A Socialist view of the world by its very nature is a humanistic, democratic and progressive interlink of the best alternatives available to a particular or set of countries, and as such it does allow itself to be browbeaten or-

defeated by the numerous obstacles and hurdles it has to surmount.

It was in the context of the pursuance of the path of socialist orientation that the question of the state role was brought to the fore. There were certain ideas which took an extreme and dogmatic attitude to the role of the state. The State according to Lenin's conception in his book, «The State and revolution», is the organised and coercive organ of the ruling class. Of course Lenin is absolutely right to characterise the state as the consummated constellation of the powers in the executive, legislative and judicisary dimensions vested in the ruling classes. All the same this does not lend itself to an extreme and dogmatic interpretation. A true dialectician as Lenin will never allow such a myopic or short sighted view to overshadow and negative the all-rounded analytic view of looking at the state as a dynamic category continuously undergoing change.

In point of fact the discussions on the role of the state

were the most controversial and thought provoking, and it was tentatively agreed upon that next year's round table be dedicated to the state's nature and role. Needless to state this line of reasoning was felt to be a genuine one, in as much as the theoretical and practical value vested in topic is of utmost priority. Hence with the expression of our purposive gratitude to our Yugoslavian Comrades with their efficient organisation of such conferences we impatiently wait for another year in the hope that the possibility of one again meeting and exchanging highly relevant and beneficial ideas on the struggle for socialism will be a practical reality. This year's conference was an all-roundedly successful one, and it is our hope that next year's conference is crowned with the same success. Somali socialists and progressives only express their wish to spare no efforts in contributing the living Somali experience at socialist transformation in such available forums as the one held in the beautiful village of Cartat.



ARAB UNITY: Indispensable for lasting peace

The first week of November 1977 has witnessed an important gathering of significance to the historical struggle of the Arab Nation. That is the Summit Conference held and attended by Heads and Kings of Arab States. The main topic of discussion at the conference was the examination of the steps to be taken in the light of the Camp David accords between Egypt and Is-

rael.

This major criticism of the said accords lies in its ambiguous stand with respect to the Palestinian question. Obviously, the essence of the Middle East conflict is the recognition of the Palestinian people's rights to establish their own state. The evacuation of the Arab Lands occupied by Israel in 1967 war, as well as the question of Jerusalem be-

By, Ali Mohamed Ahmed

ing a Holy shrine of all muslim nations.

Likewise, among other matters which the conference dealt with was the question of allocating nine Billion Dollars to the Arab States in direct confrontation with Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Movement.

The out come of the Summit



was the rejection of the Camp David accords. Because it is not an accord which can best serve the basis for a just viable lasting peaceful solution to the present conflict in the Middle East. For it ignores the essence of the conflict that is the Palestinian question and the forceful occupation of Arab Lands.

Other objectives of the conference were to resurrect Arab unity and solidarity which has been as of late in a state of disarray. Aptly, Arab Unity and solidarity has been set loose especially after the 1973 war. Needless to say, President Sadat visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 has contributed to further division in the Arab unity.

In retrospect, by scrutinizing the Middle East conflict, its causes as well as its solution lies within the framework of the of the following: Firstly, the recognition that the essence of the conflict is the Palestinian question, that is a nation evicted by force from its home land.

However, due to its presence through out the years of displacement it has forced itself on the world community. This was the result of fierce

struggle, of the Palestinian People, in the political and military arenas for the attainment of their rightful cause. In the other words, the withdrawal of the present occupiers from their homelands and the establishment of a democratic state embracing all the inhabitants of Palestine.

Above, all, through their prolonged years of politico-military struggle the Palestinian people have established a national liberation movement of high calibre and experiences. That is why to day they are highly considered by friends and foes alike as potent force to be reckoned with. Today, this movement is the sole legi-

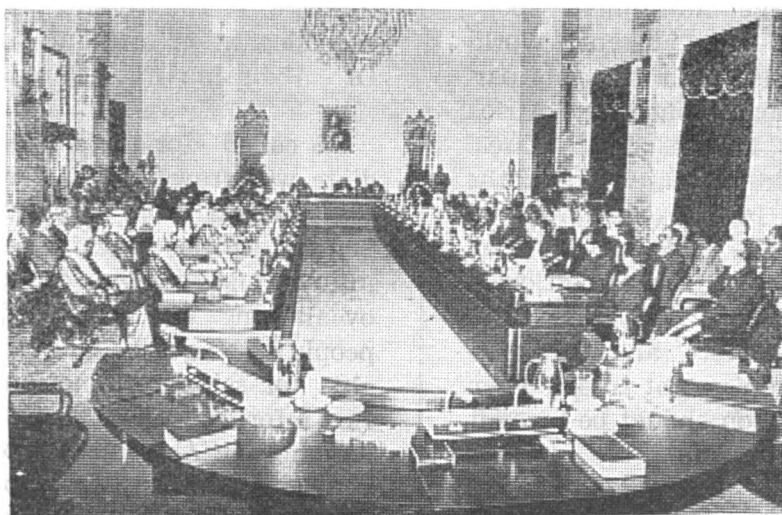
itimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Therefore, it is relevant to observe that experiences gained through the years concerning the Middle East conflict have demonstrated conspicuous and essential fact that is, any lasting solution of the said conflict can not be thought of or even achieved without the full participation of the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people as equal partner in any future talks aimed at finding just and lasting solution to the present conflict. Suffice it say, their full participation as equal member is SINE QUE NON for any just solution of the Arab Israel conflict.

In contrast, any other solution called it Camp David accords or any other name is doomed to failure.

Secondly: Israel obduracy and its expansionist policies on which it was founded more than thirty years ago can not be checked in peaceful negotiation or in war without having a prior unity and solidarity of the Arab States. This fact has been vindicated by the experience gained throughout the existence of the Arab - Israel conflict. Con-

(Cont. to page 24)





MONTHLY BULLETIN

Jaalle Abdirahman addresses United Nations

The Somali Foreign Minister, Jaalle Dr. A. J. Bare addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations on 6th October, denounced superpower intrusions into the African continent for hegemony in collusion with foreign mercenaries.

In his speech, the minister dwelt at length on world economy and ways of balancing the economies of developing and developed countries. He touched on the vast sea food resources which, he said, is exploited only by developed countries.

The minister also underscored the need to maintain peace and security in the Indian ocean which, he said, should be kept out of superpower rivalry. He called for arms limitation both in the conventional and nuclear fields.

Jaalle Adirahman spoke about the current World troubled political spots particularly southern Africa and Middle East. Isreal should withdraw from the Arab lands it occupied during the 1967 war in accordance with UN resolution 24 and 338 of 1967 and 1973 respectively and the Palestinian's right to self-determination should be recognized, he said.

Speaking on the current si-

tuation in the Horn of Africa Jaalle Abdirahman said that the issue remains to be highly tense and critical «Massive weaponry, supplied by a super power and Cuban mercenary troops are being used to perpetrate violence, havoc and destruction against the people».

He appealed to the world body to understand the plight of these oppressed people and render them assistance in their struggle against colonialism and genocide. The minister told the assembly that the people of Western Somalia are only demanding to exercise their right of self-determination.

«The time has come for the international community to proclaim that Africa belongs to the Africans and to demand that all parties of whatever colour or creed desist from imposing their tutelage on the pretext of any slogan or any guise». Dr. Abdirahman declared.

He called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Western Somalia so that peaceful solution could be worked out by allowing the colonized people to exercise their right for self-determination. He informed the General Assembly of Abyssinian provocations against the Somali Democratic Republic,

which he stated, is being intensified with everyday that passes. «Large armies of the Warsaw Pact and Abyssinia are being massed at the S.D.R. defacto border», he stressed.

Elaborating on the present situation in the Horn, the minister appealed to the General Assembly to consider the status of the huge influx of refugees from Western Somalia who are well above 600,00 people mostly women, children and disabled.

The Minister further said that Russia with Cuba as its military arm is devising a devious tactical plan against the neighbouring countries in fulfillment of its imperialist designs and hegemonistic ambitions.

«Somalia warns against the grave consequences of such an evil imperialist design which poses a serious threat to the peace and security of the region as well as to international peace and security» he stated.

The foreign minister went on to say that it is a matter of grave concern and profound disappointment to Somalia that the big power, once the self-proclaimed champion of third World causes, is an active and prominent participant in the new scramble for Africa. «The direct intervention of such

a power, with Cuba as its surrogate, in the affairs of Horn of Africa is the most dangerous example of this recent trend» he declared.

Dr. Abdirahman stated that Somalia has no illusions about the nature of the driving forces behind the recent foreign intervention in purely Africa conflicts. We believe it to be motivated by the desire for World hege-

mony and it is using blatantly opportunistic policies in pursuit of this end», he added.

More than 100 delegations welcomed the S.D.R. foreign minister's speech and called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the Horn of Africa. The Moroccan minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr. Mohamed Buncette said that the

African continent was under assault by the forces of hegemony, domination and exploitation at present.

He continued to say that it was becoming the theatre of contention between the great powers with conflicts flaring up and proxy wars breaking out. He called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the African soil.

33rd Anniversary of the United Nations

Each year, the 24 of October anniversary of the Ratification of the U. Nations Charter, which began the Organization's historic work is celebrated.

In a message on the occasion of United Nations Day, 24 October 1978, the Secretary General Dr. Kurt Welheim stated.

In the years since 1945, the world has undergone changes which the founders of the United Nations would scarcely have foreseen or imagined. It is, today, a costly different organization than it was when the charter came into force. It is larger and more representative, with 150 member states as compared to the 51 founding members. It is much more complex, concerned as it is with virtually every aspect of human existence; from the maintenance of international peace and security to the establishment of a new interna-

tional economic order and to ensuring respect for fundamental Human Rights. Thousands of people all over the world are engaged in UN activities to promote economic and social development and in providing relief and humanitarian assistance to refugees and to those affected by emergency situations. The UN has thus over the years become a microcosm of the world as a whole, which, above all affords unique opportunity to seek common solutions to the vast number of common problems which confront mankind in this increasingly interdependent world. It is both significant and encouraging that today nations are, more and more, turning to the United Nations to help resolve the most pressing issues on the agenda of the International Community.

Earlier this year, the leaders of the world gathered in New York for a special se-

ssion of the General Assembly on disarmament which adopted a set of principles and a programme of action for future negotiations. At the same time, the United Nations has been actively involved in attempts to find a peaceful solution in South Africa, in the M. E. and Cyprus. Today, over 12,000 soldiers from 27 nations are serving in six separate peace-keeping operations. Next year, the International Year of the Child will focus attention on an essential aspect of the continuing effort to improve conditions for the majority of the world's people, whose lives are impaired by inadequate care, shelter and nutrition. The UN, in attempting to meet International Community fulfils functions - as a meeting place for statesmen, as a catalyst for new approaches, as a safety valve at times when conflict threatens and as agent of peaceful change and adjustment.

At the Parade square

Hundreds of thousands of people from the Benadir Region and the surrounding districts gathered at the 21st October Square to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the October 21st Revolution in Mogadishu.

The General Secretary of the SRSP, President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, reviewed a parade staged by units of the armed forces, social organisations, students resettled communities, sports youth, revolutionary flowers and representatives of the various regions of the country.

The celebrations were also attended by the three Vice-Presidents of the SDR, Bureau Chairman, Ministers and Party Officials, Gu-

ests from the Arab World, Africa, Western Countries and International Organisations, foreign diplomats in Mogadishu and Representatives of the Somali communities living in foreign countries. The President, Officials, guests and the general public watched acrobatics performed by revolutionary flowers after which came parading in an orderly way by thousands of women in traditional dress. They were followed by workers, youth, peasants, students armed forces all demonstrating the Revolution's achievement in improving the lives of the people and the country's development in every aspect and their readiness for the defence of the country. They were

all reciting patriotic and revolutionary songs.

The parades carried placards coloured in all shades displaying the country's development in education, economy, politics, health and other fields. They also demonstrated the aspirations of the SRSP, the government and the cause of the Somali Liberation Movements.

After the parade, the mammoth crowd at the 21st October Square watched jubilantly a chain of moving armour personnel carriers and jetfighters.

The modern weaponry with which the armed forces participated in the celebrations inspired joy and confidence in the Somali people in their country's defence apparatus.

Foreign delegations arrive

Among the distinguished dignitaries attending the 9th Anniversary Celebrations of the Somali Revolution were: Djibouti premier Mr. Barkhad Gurad Hamadu and a large delegation accompanying him, the prime minister of the Yemen Arab Republic Mr. Abdulaziz Abdulqani, a British Parliamentary group headed by Mr. James Johnson, and U. S. Assistant secretary of state for African affairs Mr. William C. Harrop. Also innumerable journalists participated in the Anniversary Celebration from all over the world. Amongst them was a Nigerian writer and political analyst Eugirle Onwumere.

Speaking to newsmen

shortly before his departure on the 23rd of October, Mr. Hamadu thanked the Somali Government and people for the warm welcome extended to him and his delegation during their stay. The Djibouti Premier said his visit to the SDR will further promote the historical fraternal relation between Djibouti and the SDR. He said that the Government and people of Djibouti will never forget the major role played by the Somali government and people in Djibouti's struggle for independence. He disclosed that he had visited the SDR in 1972 and 1976 and added that he had observed the tangible results in Somalia's thrust towards the development

of the country since his last visit.

Speaking on the change of Government in Djibouti earlier in October Mr. Hamadu said that the Djibouti President appointed him as the new Premier of Djibouti when it became clear to him that the former government was not fulfilling its responsibility of uniting the people of Djibouti and developing the country.

The Premier declared that his government will take positive steps in uniting the people and constituting a society based on social justice and equality. Commenting on the Red Sea issue, Mr. Hamadu said: 'Even

though we are aware that superpowers and other small countries covet the strategic location of the area, my government believes that the Red Sea should be a zone of peace.

The Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic, Mr. Abdulgani, speaking to reporters at the end of a four day visit said «I note with pleasure the progress achieved by the Somali people under the guidance of the revolutionary government» and added «his people congratulate the brotherly people of Somalia on their successful achievements».

Asked on his talks with Somali government leaders, Mr. Abdulaziz said matters of bilateral interest were discussed, in particular ways of furthering cooperation between the two countries.

On the Red Sea and Indian Ocean security, the

prime minister said his government supports the view that the two areas be maintained as zones of peace from big power rivalry.

U.S. assistant undersecretary of state for African affairs Mr. William C. Harrop wound up his stay on 23rd Oct. after attending the 9th Anniversary celebrations of the 21st October Revolution.

In the course of his stay Mr. Harrop met president Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre to whom he conveyed greetings and congratulations from U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

Mr. James Johnson «What I saw and observed during my stay here reinforces the good impressions I have had already about Somalia, that your society is well organized and determined to reconstruct its country on socialist lines; so said lecturer Fugirie Onwumere, a Nigerian writer and political analyst

who was one of the guests invited for the anniversary celebrations.

Prof. Onwumere, a contributing editor for the Nigerian daily times, times international and a TV commentator, in an interview with Somali journalists said Somalia has created an impact in Africa in its socialist construction and has worked harder for promoting Afro-Arab solidarity and cooperation than any other African country.

The majority of our people respect respect it participate in any issue that faces the African continent, he said, adding that Somalia's role in the Festac colloquium had left indelible an impression in the minds of many Nigerian people.

Mr. Onwumere said the two countries, Somali and Nigeria, have much to gain from each other in development al experience and cultural life.

MARINE EXHIBITION

An exhibition marking the 3rd Anniversary of the Marine Day which falls annually on 23rd of October was visited by the Vice-President and Assistant to the President on Presidential affairs Jaalle Major Gen. Hussein Kulmiye Afrah.

The exhibition was held at the Central Bank Club at Lido in Mogadishu.

The show which exhibited items of off-sea nature was also attended by Party Bureau heads, Government Ministers, members of Diplomatic Corps and the general public.

In an opening speech he made to mark the occasion, Jaalle Kulmie commended the authorities and staff of the Ministries of Fisheries and Ports and Marine Transport, and their various organs for making the anniversary a success.

«The coordinated efforts of these two Ministries in devising measures have won our Revolution yet another victory», the Vice-President said.

Jaalle Kulmie explained that the Revolution, taking note of the broad resources along the 3,333 Km Somali

Coast, made it imperative to lay heavy emphasis on establishing extensive Marine equipment and staff and enhancing the study and expansion of fisheries.

Before the Revolution, he said, no attention was paid to the sea and its value, as the Somali people was traditionally familiar only with Livestock wealth.

«However, now in our Revolutionary era, the SRSF and the Government have decided it a must for our people to become good fishermen as well» he said.

Jaalle Kulmie paid tribute to the Governments and International organizations who rendered assistance to Somalia in tapping her Marine treasures. He cited Sweden and FAO an example.

Earlier, in a welcoming speech, the Minister of Ports and Marine Transport Jaalle Brig-General Mohamoud Gelle Yusuf spoke on the progress achieved in Marine exploitation and the bigger

tasks envisaged to be achieved in future.

The Vice-President awarded presents to winners who took part in swimming, boat and dhow racing contests.

Jaalle Ismail Attend Farewell Party

Attending a farewell party held in honour of the Regional delegations who participated in the 9th Anniversary celebrations of the 21st Oct. Revolution, Vice President and Assistant Secretary General of the SRSP J/le Brigadier General Ismail Ali Abokor, took the occasion to brief the delegates on the historical struggle of the Somali people for freedom. He said that the Somali people have always loved freedom and have bitterly fought for it.

The farewell party was held on 26th Oct. at the Policy Academy in Mogadishu.

The Vice President spoke about the achievements of the Revolution in the political, economic, education, health and other fields.

He also spoke on the foundation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party which he said, has been necessitated by the need of the Somali people for a party of the new

type to lead the country to progress, justice and equality.

Jaalle Ismail urged the Regional delegations to work hard towards the maintenance of the unity of the Somali people, the development of the country and the improvement of the living standards of the people.

The delegations which numbered 1400 represented the various social organizations of the regions and districts of the country.

A Review of Small-Pox Eradication

A review meeting on the Somali Smallpox Eradication Programme was held in Mogadishu on 26th October 1978. In a press release delivered on the occasion, the Minister of Health Jaalle Col. Muse Rabile Good said, «It is a great satisfaction and happiness for all of us to come to this Press Conference and impart to one another the information that we are on our way to eradicate Smallpox from Somalia, and celebrating one year free from Smallpox».

He continued, «It is worth while to give you the background information of how the Somali Government and the World Health Organisation had been waging the war against the outbreak or importation of

Smallpox in the Horn of Africa».

Somalia in collaboration with WHO had been awake ever since 1970. Intensive and regular surveillance was accompanied by continued and consistent mass vaccination throughout the country. This preventive programme was promoted by Mobile Teams of WHO Epidemiologists and Somali Epidemiologists, paramedical staff, regional, district, village authorities, police forces and the people at large. This preventive process continued until 1976. Therefore we confirm that WHO and the Somali Government had succeeded in withholding Smallpox from the country since September 1976, and pay then the gratitude they deserve», the Minister stressed.

Jaalle Rabile went on to say that, it was September 1976, when Smallpox was imported from the Somali territory colonised by Ethiopia and brought to us.

To substantiate measures aimed at mobilization of concerted efforts to detect the emergence of the disease, instructions were communicated to all Regional and District authorities and Medical officers to know that imported Smallpox had been discovered in Bakool, Bay, Gedo and Benadir.

To enhance the programme, immediate actions had to be carried out. This included general research, mass vaccinations, regular checking of air, land and

sea routes, mobile teams carrying out intensive surveillance on the de-facto boundry line with Ethiopia in order to stop further importation. In the capital, Mogadishu search operations were made at night for defecting Smallpox cases, by a work force numbering from 1500 to 2000 persons.

«After such preventive measures and search activities, we communicated to the World Health Organisation asking them to join us in the war against Smallpox. We are obliged to compliment WHO for the prompt action they took and the readiness with which they joined us in laying down the strategies» for eradication of smallpox,» said the Minister.

Following a joint survey 10 of the 16 Regions affected with smallpox at varying degrees of intensity. On 7th-October, 1976 a plan of action was drawn. It emphasised the following:

1. To continue and strengthen the surveillance activities.
2. To detect all Smallpox cases.
3. To contain outbreaks in order to stop any further transmission.
4. To isolate all uses.
5. To establish HQ smallpox Office at the Ministry of Health to plan and supervise field activities.

In the wake of increasing discovery of outbreaks in May 1977 the Ministry of Health declared emergency situation in the country and government made an appeal for assistance to

WHO, UNDP and all countries for expanding the activities of the programme, and for making containment measures more effective.

The Minister of Health J/LE. Col. MUSA RABILE GOOD concluded his address with these words: «All activities performed this year give us the full satisfaction and confidence that Merca case was the last case of Smallpox in Somalia and there is no any possibility of any transmission in the country.

Last case of Smallpox was discovered on 26, October 1977, Merca Town, Merca district, and Shabelle Region.

To satisfy the whole world still we have to continue surveillance activities as to prepare all the documentations concerning the activities of the programme till the arrival of international commission next year to certify Smallpox eradication from the country».

Dr. Haldan Mahler, Director - General World Health Organization delivered a message to the Somalia Smallpox eradication programme review meeting.

Following are excerpts from Dr. Wahler's message «This meeting marks one year of freedom from Smallpox in Somalia. I should, therefore like to express my congratulations to all of you who have contributed to this historical achievement. This is a truly significant moment, and I should like to briefly review the importance of this event.

The origin of smallpox is

obscure, but historical records suggest that the disease occurred in the eastern part of the Asian continent many thousands of years ago. This scourge travelled westwards following movements of the population: these movements were related to trade, national calamities and wars. By the eighteenth century smallpox was rampant almost everywhere people lived, throughout the world. Milloins died, became blind or disfigured with Smallpox.

Man's first effort to control the disease occurred in the late eighteenth Century. Edward Jénner, a British physician, discovered a vaccine which protected people from Smallpox.

By 1950 disease transmission had been successfully stopped in many countries in the Northern hemisphere.

However, the first breakthrough to curb the disease in countries with tropical climates, where the vaccine rapidly lost potency due to the lack of refrigeration, came in the 1950's when DR. L.H. Collier, in the U.K. developed a method for mass production of freeze-dried vaccine.

The programme has been successful. Smallpox transmission, which continued for at least 3,000 years, has apparently come to an end. The last endemic focus in the world appears to have been eliminated one year ago today.

The contribution of Somalia to this historical event is considerable. Her national and international prog-

ramme staff have successfully fought the final battle despite limited resources, limited communications and the recent conflict in the Horn of Africa.

In addition to the incredible work done in Somalia, I specifically appreciate the continuing efforts made for the last 12 months to verify whether any evidence

has truly been achieved. The surveillance teams have visited the remotest areas of the country to detect smallpox. And wholeheartedly expect that on 26 October 1979 Somalia will have convincing proof of Smallpox eradication, so that the world community will have absolutely no doubts that the job has been properly accomplished. Unity is necessary

to achieve better health in the world population. Smallpox eradication has shown unity is possible and the programme in Somalia is an excellent example of this. Furthermore, the country has shown tremendous self-confidence in discovering that if a nation wishes to do something can be done».

5th NATIONAL FAIR

was closed on 5th November 1978 by the Minister of Commerce, Jaalle Mohamed Ibrahim.

The fair, which is conducted annually is usually open for fifteen days 20th October to 5th of November each year.

The closing ceremony held at the Fair Theatre was attended by Bureau Chairmen, Ministers and other SRSP Central Committee members.

In his closing speech, the minister highlighted the Revolution's objectives in staging the Fair.

«It was an exhibition of the achievements of the Revolution in the commercial, industrial, agricultural, fishing and cultural development of the country», he said.

«The purpose of staging these National Fairs is to demonstrate the socio-economic transformations in our country», the minister pointed out.

He said that the fair is a trading centre where our agricultural, industrial and sea food resources are marketed

and added that sport competitions, handicrafts and other cultural activities were also staged in the 5th National Fair.

The Minister disclosed that the Fair will be transformed into a supermarket next year where various commodities will be sold at economic prices.

He expressed his appreciation of the role played by various government departments and agencies which participated in the Fair in making it successful.

Earlier the General Manager of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Jaalle Ali Hashi, speaking on the occasion about the 5th National Fair, said that it was far better and impressive than its predecessors in every aspect.

He noted that all participants of the Fair had demonstrated efficiency and vigilance in exhibiting their products and services.

As usual, participation in the Fair had been enthusiastic and many ministries and various Government departments and autonomous

agencies had displayed their products or achievements in one way or another.

The most important aspect of holding the national fair was to illustrate to the masses of Socio-economic progress made during the Revolutionary era. The development made in the fields of livestock, Agriculture, Fishery, Industry, Education, Health etc. had been shown to the Somali people and as well the foreigners living in the country.

The people could fairly evaluate the economic and social progress made during these years and witness the speediness of the country's industrial and agricultural output and the attainment of self-sufficiency in the near future.

It was evident from this year's Fair that the economy had a strong impulse and that the drive towards self-sufficiency in food stuffs was very near the target. The development of livestock and the National Industrial base were also indicators of general progress, the best means of fighting poverty.



CULTURE AND ART

Culture and Society

By, Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

It is a well-known fact that man is the only social being that can enter with his world and environment into relations that can have a lasting impact. Other creatures live in harmony with the circumstances of nature around them, eating whatever they came across. But man is different and he is set apart by a definite thing called labour. It is definitely known that only human beings work, and not animals. Similar are motivated by the need of survival by which they satisfy the requirements of living under natural conditions. But man does not his environment to his needs according to his abilities.

Human labour is dependent on and peculiar to the type of equipment available because man does rely solely on his muscles and he prepares the necessary tools for his existences with which he works. Tools are invented with an eye to extending labour itself. The tools are used, so to speak, to enable man to turn his environment to change and master it.

This side of the picture shows us the struggle man is waging to change the world in which man is living.

Related to this is the other side which consists in the storing of equipment,

knowledge of art and faiths that are the result of human existences itself.

We can say that the cornerstones of our social existence is labour, because it is the very source of thought and it gives rise to the art of the faith of morals and anything connected with it.

Human labour has always a social nature, because human existence has never been known to be individualistic. Society is a historical fact and it passes through various stages of development, each stage having distinct form and essences.

Human life and its stage of development depend on the strength of the tools and the technical connected with it by which a livelihood is produced. There is also to be considered the relations among human beings which are determined by the dominant economic intercourse among them. The way work is carried out determines the relations of people and colours their social relations. Collective efforts have resulted in collective thinking a common view and in the exchange of knowledge thus special economic groupings being formed. The way a society lives always is the test of human existence in general or is its expression.

Hence the depth of human relations with the world de-

termines the level of man's knowledge and development.

The Production for man's existence is related to nature

Such relations indicate the extent to which man has mastered nature. Take any social formation, for example primitive man. We find that he can work only for the amount of effort he can put in day limited by the nature of the tools at his disposal stone implements used for cutting trees, cutting roots or killing wild animals. These are in addition the utensils used for carrying water and food on his journeys, such as utensils made of wood or stone or the bark of trees and grass all of which are obtained from the environment in which he lives.

The best things in nature for any primitive social group are these that are permanently useful to it. There is also a dangerous side to nature in this respect and these are the beasts, unfavourable winds, thunder, thunderbolt diseases and all other calamities, primitive societies are conscious of these things and give them names and their knowledge is commensurate to them. As for other things with which they have not been brought into contact they are not aware let alone knowing them. For exam-

(Cont. from page 14)
sequently, thorough examination of Israel and its international backers, that is imperialism and zionism, it is logical or natural for Israel to strive for the arrangement of with every Arab State on individual basis. The major factor being that the Arabs in their unity are in a position of strength in any future negotiation with Israel and in their disunity lies their weakness which makes them an easy pray for Zionist and imperialist greed.

It is in the aforesaid perspective that the summit conference of Baqhdad could be viewed and analysed. Besides, its resolution concerning the Camp David accords the

saving earned marked for the national liberation movement and the liberation of the occupied Arab lands. Equally, it must be acknowledged that there is an immense need for any attempts which are meant to find a durable peaceful solution to the M. E. Conflict.

Obviously, such solution have to be always compatible with the wishes of the nations of the area.

Accordingly, in the above light, the value of President Sadat's visit can not be ignored.

However, the paramount attention and endeavours of all Arab Nation should be focused on the ways and means of sa-

feguarding and strengthening their unity and solidarity irrespective of all diversions deployed by the Zionist and the imperialists. It is no open secret that the fate and the progressive development of the entire Arab Nation lies within the framework of their unity. That is why a lasting peace in the M. E. lies in the unity of the Arab Nation and not in the ephemeral of Israel partial «Modus Vivendi» or an imposed external solution from without. In conclusion any endeavour of unity which is meant to strengthen the present stage of the Arab Nation struggle is highly needed. Here lies the valuable and the timely significance of the Summit Conference of Baqhdad.

Culture and Society

(Cont. from page 23)

ple a primitive social group may live for a long time on a primitive of coal without having knowledge of its existence, with the ability to use it being out the question.

On the other hand, the knowledge of primitive people or their way of life in general depends on the skill. Is they have acquired and their made of thought in an expression of it. The society of primitive man we have taken as an example knows only such words as it uses for gathering furit, or hunting and such other things that connecter with the tools it uses for its labour. If hunting is carries out or

other skills are facilitated by the environment new methods are created in accordance with the tools made available and the necessary vocabulary is invented.

The relations which man establishes with nature which relations leaves a trace, the view man and the tools he uses the technology and the methods he uses, and the thoughts reflected there in and the language he uses all represent the economic life of a society that has this features. Whenever a group the value of labour and the aim behind it so as to be able to profit from nature and it to modify it in the interest of fulfilling their needs, and when the knowledge of tools and skill-

ls becomes part of the traditions of the group, it is then that we can say a certain social group has come into being.

A group of people feel their separate existence when they make a concerted effort to live together, such awareness is also brought about by the human cooperation for survival, and the untitled resistance put up in the face of common difficulties. It is also brought about by the possession of arms and the tools production, such awareness being manifest in the ideas and stories that pertain to the social existence of primitive man of which we shall write further.



BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

Halgan Bibliography No. 2

This is the second of a projected series of bibliographies on Halgan materials. It is offered as a useful reference for our readers some of who, from

time to time, may need to refer to particular back issues of Halgan. This bibliographical list covers materials included in the issues of Halgan that

have appeared during the past year up to and including the October second Anniversary issues.

EDITORIAL NOTES

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- The Organization of the Somali Cooperative movement. 14 Dec. 1977.
- 77: A year crowned with success 15 January, 1978
- At last!! 15 January, 1978
- New Development in the Middle EAST 16 Feb. 1978
- To where the Events of the Horn are heading.....,.. 16 Feb. 1978
- Aborted Coup
- The patriotic front is victorious 17-18 MARCH, AP. 1978
- Incredible turmoil in Africa: what does it signify?. 19 May 1978
- Momentous days 20 June 1978
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THEORETICAL ISSUES

ONGOING DEBATES ON
SOCIALIST THEORY

The world socialist system, and its marxist-Leninist ideology is vast becoming a decisive factor contributing to the resolution of pressing problems in the world arena. No single issue can be resolved without recourse to the mutually exclusive alternatives postulated by the two opposing social systems that today determine the course of social development. The veritable dialectics of the times in which we live assert the vitality of the socialist system, which has won the hearts and minds of millions of people in all parts of the world. Accordingly today the onward march of socialism cannot be checked by the draconian repressive measures adopted by the bourgeois order in its. State monopolistic stage. The intellectual conviction in the scientific socialist ideology, practical commitment to its implementation, and for this reason the dialectical unity of the unity of the universal truth marxism-leninism, with its creative application to specific conditions gains in weight and importance. However socialist thought and practice, for its efficacy, and for its further deepening necessarily calls for a more extensive and thorough going analytical conceptualisation of all its categories. «Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action», as V.I. Lenin long time stated, and this rings vividly true now as it did at time comrade, Lenin uttered.

Socialist intellectuals and scholars are entrusted with the heavy but valuable responsibility of creatively interpreting scientific socialism to an ever changing and unfolding socio-economic reality. In so doing they widen the horizons and effectiveness of the socialist ideology in the hearts and minds of countless million adherents scattered in all the parts of the world. The specific duty of progressive intellectuals and scholars, so far they specialise in the creation, and dissemination of ideas, and since this is intimately interwoven with the task of heightening the level of social consciousness of the working class and the forces in alignment with it, happens to be the continuous elaboration, elucidation and sophistication of socialist ideas and thought. Thus a task of educating the working class and the toiling masses into the component aspects of their tactical and strategic goals to social emancipation rests squarely on the shoulders of socialist scholars. As has been impressed on us time and again, «Ideology comes to the working class from outside». This statement underscores the strategic importance of the intellectual's role in the social emancipatory struggle waged by the oppressed. The transmission of ideas to the working masses by intellectuals is not a paternalistic and one-sided relationship. In fact this occurs in an integrative process

when the unity of all the progressive forces in society is assured by shared goals which are manifested by common will, action and purpose.

THE ONGOING SOCIALIST
DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS

Socialist thought is tailored to life, and its dynamic ongoing evolution, henceforth, it can but change with the changing times. Thus the temporal and spatial dimensions of socialist thought is limitless and cannot be confined by any set of factors. Ossification and dogmatism are foreign and absolutely alien to the revolutionary spirit of socialist thought and practice in the field of production, the multi-sided class struggle and the complexity of the cognition of reality as testified to, by the relativity of truth gives added weight to the ongoing debates and discussions raging in the field of marxist epistemology. Almost all philosophical categories and postulated are subject to refutation and and further elucidation. Healthy debating of even the basic and fundamental assumptions contributes to, but does not dilute their qualitative meaning. And it is in this spirit that socialist argumentation on the current problems takes place. A number of concepts are put to question, of course socialist, or so called socialist theoretic understanding is so manifold, and contradicting that to the

uninitiated mind it may well look to be rather confusing and unintelligible that socialists debate essential questions. But socialists are strictly the most scientific and humanistic people, and as such it is they, and no one else who pose to themselves the most pertinent and controversial questions.

In the third world context questions on socialist construction take on added importance, to the extent that one is cognisant with the additional problems inherent in the specificities of a socialist, democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. Certain questions are posed which are of fundamental importance to the socialist and democratic transformation to third world progressive forces, and this undoubtedly are of importance for us to give the right answers. Socialist Orientation or non-capitalist path of development happens to be a political characteristic which is imputed to countries of which Somalia is indisputably one. In almost all scientific forums dealing with socialist themes this questions, normally occupies a preeminently cardinal role. Amongst the questions raised in this regard are: What do we mean by socialist orientation? Once this question is adequately and satisfactorily answered, corollary questions pertinent to one or several of its attributes and characteristics are reasonably advanced. Amongst these questions the nature of the state under socialist orientation is naturally expounded. Equally the nature, scope and content of economic transformations under a national democratic state, as dictated by the path of non-capitalist development is invariably asked. More accurately the nature of the state sector created by suppo-

sedly progressive regimes of socialist orientation are unquestionably subjected to severe criticism. More than this, the class character of the national democratic state, and its allegiance to a thoroughgoing socialist transformation is expressed to be very much in doubt. These and a number of other disquieting qualifications are tacked to the newly worked out principle of socialist Orientation.

Obviously it is insuperably difficult to satisfactorily answer all the questions explicitly and implicitly posed against socialist orientation or non-capitalist path of development, all the same we are duty bound to honestly and impartially address himself to, on the one hand, spell out the nature of socialist orientation, and at the same time to with enough luck advance convincing argumentation to refute the doubts that are being presently aired against a path of development which is reckoned by many to be the only one feasibly open for the progressively inclined political forces in the third world, with particular relevance to our African continent.

SOCIALIST ORIENTATION IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Lenin long time ago stated. «Life is richer than any theory», and that is absolutely true. Marx preceded Lenin by stating that one confronts history as a given, inherited and objective reality, which can only be favourably influenced by the understanding and mastery of its objectively given laws. Today's marxists are entrusted with the task of being as creative and militant as the well seasoned scholars who gave their name to the most Vigorous and life giving ideology which today

holds the attention of the whole of mankind.

Our African continent attained its flag independence predominantly in the year of the wind of change, that is the year 1960. In the life span of mankind 18 years is too short a period. But within that period we have witnessed social transformations of vast magnitude. We have lived through and experienced our continent ripening from the fundamental contradiction national liberation vis-vis physical and naked colonialism to its attainment of the more elaborated and high consciousness of social emancipation Versus neo-colonialist and imperialist domination. Though the class process involved may well be roughly the same nevertheless the nature of contradictions, the tempo and priority of struggle has quite undergone a qualitative change. This is food for thought for those ultra-leftist socialists who heddle with superficial Marxist phrasology hinging on the primitive level of our socio-economic development, and the embryonic class structure there by obtaining in our societies. It is the practice of these arm-chair socialist theorists to state that the attainment of socialist transformation is impractically distant for any realistic aspiration, on our part. There are other counterposing ideas, which belie any kind of accurate ascription the effect that the third world is for the taking, and that any social system, including socialism, is on balance equally as successful as the other. As a hard-headed socialist one can never be swayed by the cheap recipes that are pushed forward for his feasting, neither would one shy away from the Veritably uphill challenges that confront him. Not

for a moment could we overestimate or for that matter underestimate the challenges that life invariably throws up in one's on-ward march to a future.

To come back to the topic, now under discussion, one understands socialist orientation as an analytical principle, a reasonable one but never a waterproof one, which guides us in the intricate path undergoing the transition to socialist construction, under extremely difficult conditions. Basically the non-capitalist path of development is highly a transitional one where by the small marxist-leninist elements to be found in the third world enter into an alliance with progressively minded revolutionary democrats on a common programme of creating an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, a democratic state which is consonance with the interests of the vast majority of the masses, at a given moment of an objective historical situation. Non-Capitalist path of development, or socialist orientation is therefore an expression of an alliance, a coalition, of a set of progressive social groupings, adopting tactical, and to some extent, strategic goals approximating to the minimum programme set down by a marxist-leninist party. The principle of advocating a non-capitalist path of development is securely founded on a creative principal stand taken by V.I. Lenin, which is below reproduced: «Are we to consider the assertion that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative: With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced

countries, backward countries can go over to the soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalism stage». The certain advance which Lenin refers to is the initial stage of the independent struggle of the colonised and oppressed peoples. However this statement clearly lays firm foundation for the socialist oriented development that today is a practical and living reality.

It is now thought fitting to go into certain salient points concerning the whole essence of socialist orientation, as well as its future prospects. In the present context we will address ourselves to the state, the state economic sector and the nature of class forces operating within a country of socialist orientation. With regard to the state Marx, Engels, and Lenin's views are too well — known to be contextually elaborated. A simple paraphrasing of their ideas on state, leaning heavily on Lenin's book, «The state and revolution», fully demonstrates to us that the state is a repressive organ of class domination, and there by is not supra or above class and a neutral machinery, as is argued by bourgeois theorists. Be that as it is, marxian views on the state one more all-rounded and sophisticated than the above paraphrasing which on the whole gives us the very essential attributes of the state. The state, needless to say, within the parameters of bourgeois order being a state of the minority has to primarily serve its class, but over and above this has to take pre-emptive action against a detouring class and civil war which could sweep away and claim the whole state with the progressive segmen-

te. Therefore the state has to, at times curb the extreme actions of certain elements of the bourgeoisie, and as such mute and dilute the working class anger that otherwise might result in its demise. But in our present discussion turning on the nature of the state in countries of socialist orientation is raised on the grounds that since a number of classes combine to form a coalition, the actual role of these classes and their impact on the socio-economic and political decisions in the running of the state is either critically fudged or more scientific analysis and information is genuinely elicited. Of course the life span of the concept of socialist orientation, with the exception of Asian Republics of the USSR and Peoples Republic of Mongolia, is short and undoubtedly thus raises novel questions, for which the correct answers have to be discovered within the objective historical processes unfolding in front of our eyes.

Obviously discrete and unfiltered class forces exist in countries of socialist orientation, and this is due to the low level of socioeconomic development, which perforce gives rise to an immature class structure. The main rationale why respectable marxist view of the present contradictions in the third world welcomes and upholds the path of socialist orientation is more than anything else due to their realisation that the embryonic nature of the working class rules out, for the time being, a singular dominant role enjoyed by it. This genuine realisation on the part of African Marxist-Leninist elements impels them to look for strategic alliances with the progressive segmen-

ents of their society. Henceforth a strategic alignment is formed with the revolutionary democratic forces, thanks to whom a clear majority for an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic transformation is made possible. The main goals at this historical juncture boils down to a rapid economic development, with the help of which the social welfare of the toiling masses is relatively secured. An external and internal restructuring of socio-economic relations, a democratisation of social life, and purposive organisation of the masses, and the raising of their educational, cultural and political consciousness which are integral factors that contribute to the deepening of the path of socialist orientation. A successful carrying out of the points heightens the chances of transcending socialism. Below we over to the stage of building give a greater elaboration on socialist orientation and economic transformation, through the state sector will be attempted. Furthermore certain evolution of the inner and outer dialectics of class struggle within the rubric of the highly dynamic path of socialist orientation.

THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF COUNTRIES OF SOCIALIST ORIENTATION.

The dialectical unity of the unity of the universal and specific holds true in our discussion of the economic policies pursued by countries of non-Capitalist development. On the one hand they fairly embark on certain shared general economic policies which essentially characterise them as countries of socialist orientation; at the same time due mainly to the peculiarities and specificities of their societies each

is bound to adopt some particular policies dictated by one's own singular characteristics. The policies of nationalisation of expatriate capital, and vigorous steps to check the extreme ill-effects of local private capital, as well as emphasis on viable or semiviable industrialisation, and furthermore the heightened role of national planning to counteract the adverse side-effects of the international capitalist market, are rather unifying factors held in common by countries of socialist orientation. On the whole the economic policies of these countries boil down to a serious disengagement from the centre-periphery dependence. In other words a transitional type of economy, by and large harmonising with the requirements of the new economic order, is attempted to be consolidated. Not always do these policies bear full fruits. It is here that severe criticism is advanced against countries of socialist orientation. A relatively strong state sector is the sine qua non for a third world country which is trying to break away from centuries old neglect and backwardness. Inasmuch as private capital is rather small, or if not the case, is unprepared to be utilised as a fruitful investment fund, the state is called upon to be the major investor in the national economy. This observable fact which is attributable to reasonable and comprehensible logical conclusions goes to state sector with the socialisation of the economy. But that is far from being the case, to the extent that even the national bourgeoisie in the third world countries is capable of creating a strong state sector, of course for reasons obviously in their benefit. In all honestly the nature of the

state sector created even by a country of socialist orientation does not per se qualify as a socialist sector, until and unless, a comprehensive transformation of the system of social relations, and a shift towards greater democratisation of the administrative and managerial power in favour of the working class has not ensued. Equally important as a gauge to the relative extent of satisfying peoples democracy, revolves around how seriously the revolutionary state combats the emergence of a parasitic bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie class, with intimate and interwoven interests to prey and get fat on the people's wealth. Just as all forms of nationalisation are not to be conceived as socialism, not all state sectors are necessarily the consolidation of a socialised material base. Only a state sector clothed with the major criterion of socialist economic, political and ideological preconditions can assure a truly democratic and revolutionary restructuring of the given society, and it alone can straighten out the inevitable path to a healthy base for further socialisation. In conclusion the state sector of socialist oriented countries has masterfully reflected the internal and external upswings and downswings of the class struggle obtaining in those societies. To the extent that the coalition of progressive forces persists a democratic, more or less, a movement closer to thoroughgoing economic change beneficial to the masses can be registered. However to the extent that certain sections of the alliance either overtly or covertly enter into a deal with the national bourgeoisie, or worst still soften up to the bureaucratic and compradore bourgeoisie, the

greater become the chances of shipping away from the chartered progressive path, and the easier it then becomes to lose almost all the gains hitherto carried out for the toiling masses.

CONCLUSION:- Discussions on socialist orientation is an open ended matter, there are still more light to be shed, a num-

ber of points to be illuminated. A critical appraisal of the path of socialist orientation, despite the doubts and pitfall to which it is subject, has to content with its continuing relevance in the third world we live. It is a transitional path which if seriously embarked on is liable to bear fruitful results for the third world masses in the construction of viable and

independent national economy. Consistency and faithfulness to the progressive dictates of socialist orientation fits these countries into the mainstream of the world revolutionary alliance that is locked up in struggle with imperialism, in its state monopolistic stage, along with its multinational companies that it invariably nurtures and subsidises.

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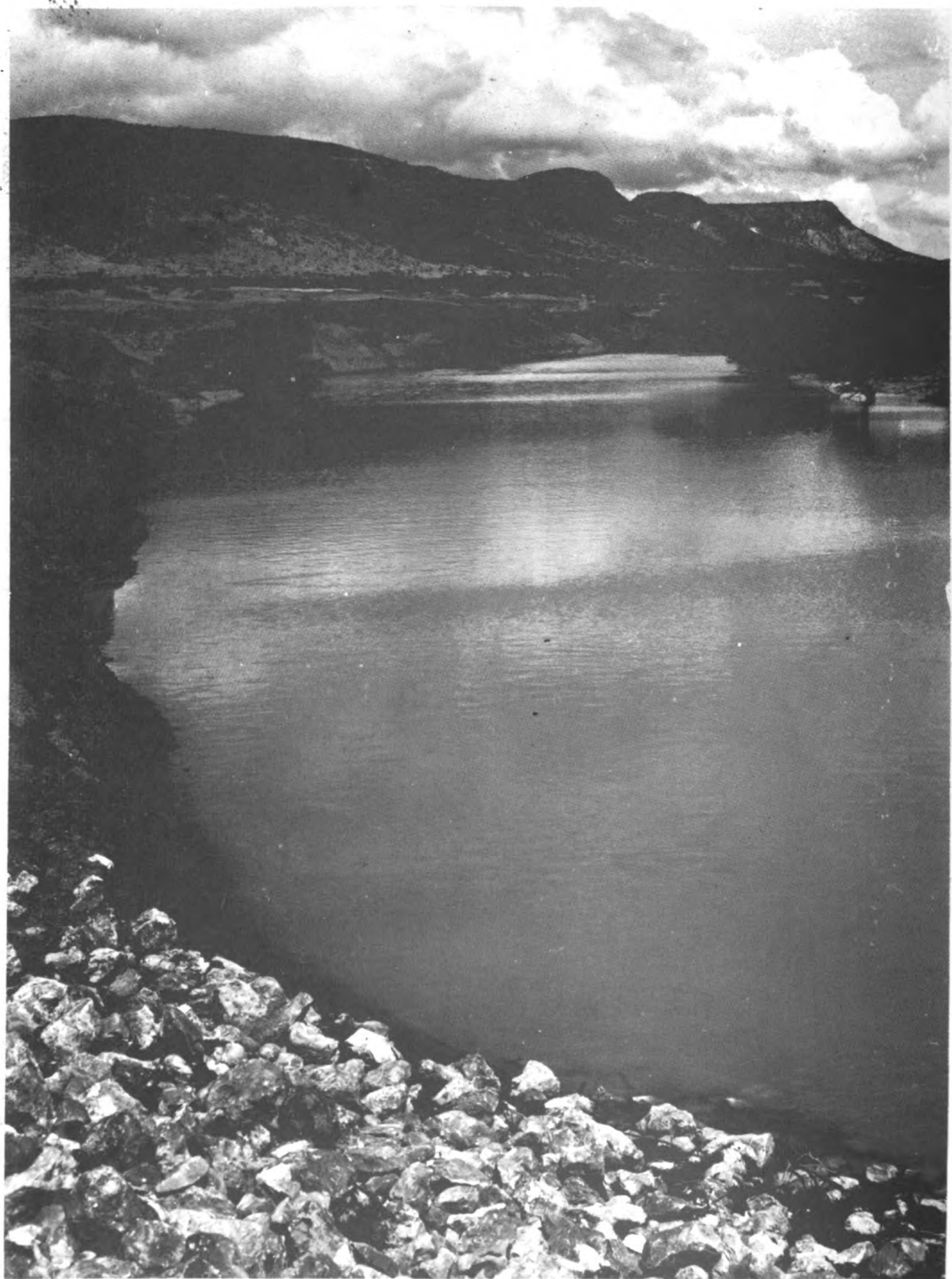
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(THE STRUGGLE)

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* THE AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING
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* a spirit of respect for
the law.

* workers and art.
* the XI congress of
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Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
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POLITICAL, ECONOMIC & SOCIAL AFFAIRS



The Beginning of the Resettlement and Fishing Programme

PART II

By EREG.

The destructiveness of the «Daba Dheer» drought, more grave and ominous than the droughts preceding it, highlighted for the Somali state and people the painful conditions besetting the whole nomadic mode of existence. The Somali Gov't realised, more than ever before, that a new way out was necessary to save our predominantly nomadic population from the catastrophic ends intrinsic in the vagaries of nature which prevails under conditions of arid and sem arid climate as is the case in northern Somalia. A Gov't Commission set up in 1972 to study the conditions of the nomads came to the conclusion that nomadic existence was highly threatened by natural catastrophes, so much so, that a governmental action to ameliorate the sorry situation was patently called for. Besides the socialist principles inspiring our policies laid in front of us the task of finding

a viable solution to engineer a real transformation of the nomadic mode of communal production. All in all there were a number of factors acting as a prerequisite for the resettlement programme which was embarked upon in June 1975.

Already early in 1975 the Supreme Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers together decided on the resettlement programme. Thus in June 1975 that decision of theirs was practically implemented. Over 120,000 nomads who voluntarily opted for settlement in 6 agricultural and **fishing settlement** sites were transported from their transient rehabilitation relief camps in the north to the newly surveyed sites, three of which were agricultural and 3 fishing. The six Settlement sites were regarded as the most suitable places forming a rapid socio-economic uplift for the

resettled nomads. Obviously, a rapid socio-economic transformation acted as a principal underpinning for the resettlement programme. That is due to the fact that nomadic existence poses as an impediment to socio-economic and political transformation. A consolidated and advanced socialist society is impossible in Somalia as far over 60% of its population pursue a transient transhuman existence under pitiable low levels of productive forces and within the parameters of a mode of production long time ago transcended.

Once the resettlement scheme was agreed upon the potentialities offered by agriculture and fishing was too much an attractive one. With regard to agriculture Somalia has 8 million hectares of arable and cultivable land, of which under a million hectares are now tilled. Thus our agriculture characteristically suffers of labour shortage, whereas our livestock economic sector in contrast suffers of labour excess. Thus under the auspices of the resettlement programme a proportional and balanced restructuring of our national economy could crucially be accomplished, and the fully non apped water resources of river Juba and Shabelle could be put to better use. In this regard it is worthy to mention the conclusions of the JASPA REPORT. Which concludes that between into agriculture in order to lighten the bur-



den on the carrying capacity of the rangelands and at the sometime to ensure a rapid socio-economic development in the SDR.

This goes, on the one hand, to testify to the inexhaustible potentialities of our agricultural resources, and at the same time underscores the grave situation prevailing in the nomadic sector of our economy. With regard to our fish resources it is noteworthy to mention that the SDR has over 3300 Kilometers long coastline, but sorry to mention the riches contained in our vast sea territory were never seriously exploited. Only between 2500-3000 member community derived their livelihood from the fishing before the revolution. They were using the most primitive tools and implements, and as such they eked out meagre fish resources adequate enough for their bare existence.

Thanks to the redoubled efforts of the revolutionary states consistent support and its establishment of the Ministry of Marine and Fishing a well thought policy the sea riches were for the first time effectively laid down. The establishment of resettlement fishing communities at Brava, Adale and Eil, with a nearly a population of over 20,000 persons constitutes the pinnacle of a series of steps to make fishing a crucially important sector in our national economy? Since 1973 after the creation of Somali Cooperatives by the implementation of law number 40 fishing cooperatives mushroomed all along coastal areas of the Somali Democratic Republic.

There is no doubt at the agricultural resettlement programme at Dujuma, Sablale



and Kurtun Waarey with a population of 48,000; 30,000 and 26,000 respectively will magnificently contribute to boosting our agricultural production, to the same degree that the fishing resettlement Programme will heighten production in this economic sector

THE PRACTICAL FOUNDATION OF THE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

When a joint meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers took the historic decision of resettling 120,000 nomads practical steps were taken to implement it.

In the rehabilitation relief camps the drought victims were consulted as to whether they would join this program or opt out for returning to the old style of nomadic life. The popularisation of the new way of life as opposed to nomadism was made more attractive by a number of agitational and propagandistic campaigns which turned on the economic, social, cultural and educational advantages ensuing from the new way of life.

Once a section of the nomads made the choice of Gov't ministers were strategically selected to shoulder responsibility, and amongst th-

em the following featured prominently. The Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Health, Agriculture, Fisheries and Marine Transport each of these ministries was assigned a task corresponding with its specific functions. Over and above in preparation for a successful transportation of these over 120,000 nomads the measures below set were undertaken:

- Fourteen makeshift airports were hastily constructed four of them for landing purposes and other ten to be used in case of emergency
- Five thousand kilometre roads were cleared to help in the program
- The communication system was overhauled and improved and radio and other automatic devices were installed in the stations of the resettlement sites to improve efficiency.
- Temporary Camps were initiated close to the makeshift airports the period of evacuating those thousands of people started on June the 15th and continued upto 18th August 1975 and to make it through

the following factors contributed to its successful implementation.

1. Over 500 Gov't personnel including University students took part, including 566 Soviet Aircrew who helped in transporting the nomads.
2. 615 vehicles were deployed for the purpose
3. 24 Cargo planes were used and these were mainly provided by the Soviet Union; and
4. 48 new radio stations were up.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITY

The objective underpinnings of the resettlement program has already been spelt out and accordingly does not necessitate much elaboration suffice to state that the revolutionary state engineered this stupendous programme so as to effect a crucially important socio-economic transformation in a strategic sector of the Somali national economy. This, of course, is a component part of the overall socialist developmental plans that Somalia is embarking upon. For this reason, emphasis has been placed on agriculture, which entails a policy of allocating greater investment funds for and the attraction of manpower to the agricultural sector. In the effectuation of this, tentative plans were made for the resettlement areas to attain self-sufficiency in 5 year's time, and to proceed along a number of phases.

The administration obtaining in the settlement areas has

gone through dynamic evolution, but to this day there is an interlacing between the administrative structures of party and state and an administrative system taken from traditional Somali practices. Obviously the Party and State administration are and will eventually integrate the traditional system, but as yet this supplements the ordinary administration and as structured below:-

1. Community (Beel) is the largest administrative organ and comprises 400 families. It has its own head who is elected by the families.
2. Sub-community (Bulsho) which consists of 200 families, has its own leadership structure; who come under the community leadership.
3. Every sub-community is divided into two quarters (Birjeex) comprising 100 families each.
4. Each quarter has 2 sectors (Cududdo) with 50 families.
5. And at the bottom there are the sub-sectors

(Xubno) consisting of 10 families each.

The resettled people are already a viable community and with respect to their administration have attained a very satisfactory stage whereby they decide their own affairs except in areas entailing certain high managerial and professional skills. The above structured system has helped in the difficult adaptation problems which obtained in the early stages when they were new to the areas they have settled, to the extent that it facilitates a historical continuity of the modern with the customary norms of traditional life. However, increasingly the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party's leading position is consolidating itself and the new content is being provided by the principle of democratic centralism.

As regards the important facet of attaining economic self-sufficiency within 5 years the programme of resettlement is embarking on an ambitious plan of clearing large tracts of land for cultivation. The plans laid down for the three agricultural —



Sites are as follows:

District	Irrigate land hectares	Rain fed or dry farming. hectares
DUJUMA	9,000	9,000
SABLALE	3,000	3,000
K./WAREY	3,000	3,000

Of these the following number of hectares have been successfully made ready:

District	Land fully prepared hectares	Land Le- velled. hectares
DUJUMA	563	334
SABLALE	2005	300
K/WAREY	1477	700
Total	4045	1334

In the first phase of economic self-sufficiency ending in 1980 it is anticipated that about 6,000 hectares of arable land will be cleared for each settlement site. Of course there will be number of difficulties to be confronted by this ambitious programme, inasmuch as there will be dire need for greater labour power more than is now available, and the problem of importing technology will constitute an expensive affair.

All the same a rapid socio-economic transformation, giving priority to agriculture in

the process of capital accumulation makes our ambitious plan an imperative one. This is underscored by the conclusions of the JASPA report of 1977 to the effect that for Somalia to create enough employment it has to absorb 50,000 people in agriculture. To make this ambitious programme translated to practice the Somali state has allotted a hefty sum of money totalling 230,256,000 Shs. A breakdown of how this amount of investment in the program is to raised is shown below:

1. Gov't budget	— 35,893,000
2. Loan from the «Arab Fund»	— 142,363,000
3. Loan from the World Bank	— 52,000,000
TOTAL	230,256,000

Besides the major agricultural programmes under way the resettlement scheme is popularising the acceleration of poultry and dairy programs which obviously will play a beneficial role in the early accomplishment of self-sufficiency. In accordance with this each of the resettlement communities has over 1,000 cows, and if full implementation of

the plan goes through will together have 50,000 chicken (15,000 for K./Warey and Sablaale each, and 20,000 for Dujuma). It is anticipated that a villagisation programme will soon be carried out, and the removal of Dujuma settlement site will quicken the process of socio-economic transformation in the three agricultural sites. The villagisation

programme which now has been agreed upon is a fruitful result of our experiences for the last 3 years and great benefit are bound to accrue to the people in its effective consolidation.

The emphasis laid on the creation of firm material base for the settlement sites has gone hand in hand with the improvement of social amenities and welfare. Over 19 schools have been opened with a total school population of 45,000 and adult informal education is extremely popular.

In respect of health, there is a 3 year ongoing programme whose fruitful results can be gauged by the 230 beds in Dujuma hospital, as well 140 and 130 in Sablaale and K/Waarey respectively. There are also outpatient facilities available.

Within those three year 150,937,000 So. Shs. are allotted to be spent on health care, and one can already notice the perceptible changes occurring in the health of the resettled people, whereby a successful control over a number of diseases has been accomplished.

CONCLUSIONS:

The resettlement programme is a momentous step in the right direction since it is a resource in the effort to tap the inexhaustible resources in the agricultural field. Through this a harmonic interplay of all sectors of our economy can be assured, and the social welfare facilities of our people could be ascertained so far we are in the first phase of the organisational problems are confronted and when facing the magnitude of obstacles to be surmounted are at their greatest. Obviously, the lack of experience by all those engaged in the progra

will play its part in the non-realisation of a great number of plan targets laid down without regard to practical reality and its impediments.

However, we are bound to benefit from the mistakes which invariably are part of the ongoing process, and in the very close years the resettled

communities will inevitably grow into a minor image of the prosperous Somalia which tirelessly we are committed to create.



Mobilization for respecting the Law

By Tani

It is of the utmost importance that the masses should be awakened to the observance of the law so that the eradication of crime will be easy.

Laws are made to be respected and to abide by them. They are not made to be contravened. And it is not necessary that the general public should be conversant with the laws, although it is useful to know them. But to know a law is one thing, and to abide by it is quite another. What is essential is the observance of the regulations and their execution.

It is important that the masses should be made to realize that laws are made, and translate the general interests of the nation, as well as those of the individual, reminding them that both interests overlap each other, and that individual interests consist in the general welfare of the nation.

There are some who are inclined to thinking that to commit a crime and then to get away with it is an act of heroism. Such a crime might be boasted of by some as showing the cleverness with which they have fooled their government or more specifically those charged with the application and execution of the law.

What is more surprising is

that there are those who consider such a criminal as a courageous and deeply learned person. But worse is the spectacle of the masses admiring him as if they had scored the victory themselves, which implies that they are all against the law which represents the society and speaks on behalf of the government which fulfills the task of checking whether the law has been observed or not.

It is strange that the public does not realize that the office of the Attorney-General metes out justice, that in other words, it releases any innocent person or rather does not pass any case to a court without sufficient evidence of the crime. Thus if a person is accused by that office and his case is passed to the court then there is some incriminating proof against him, although the probability might be that he did not commit the crime or that there is no sufficient testimony against him. One of the other queer things also is the fact that the public sometimes watches the battle that takes place between the law which is represented by the Public Prosecutor and the criminal, sympathizing with the latter or as if there were a competition between two football teams each of which makes no effort to win over the other. How

can such an attitude be interpreted other than saying that it betrays a lack of political maturity or short-sightedness.

This difficulty can be solved by raising the level of the consciousness of the masses and their knowledge pertaining to the giving due consideration to those involved in the administration of justice. It is also important to orient the people in the necessity of respecting the law of the land in the interests of the individual and to remind them that the law protects the freedom and security of the citizen.

In order to instil respect for the law in the masses we must clarify to them the aims behind it, telling them at the same time that to break the law does not signify any courage and that to the law-abiding does not mean to be a coward or to be afraid of punishment.

Although difficulties are likely to be confronted with, efforts will be crowned with success if they are made relentlessly to realize the goals we have indicated.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the task is not an easy one, considering the degree of knowledge of the masses and their knowledge in general.

It is very easy to propagate the need for respecting the law among highly civilized and developed nations, but it is difficult to do so among those nations where ignorance is widespread like the developing nations. We talk very much always about the observance of the law, we discuss justice very strongly, yet if you carefully observed the way we behave and the way things happen you would think that many people use legal terminology as just mere lip-service to the law.

Although our people do not have much respect to the law we should not give them up. We should try and guide them, rectifying their shortcomings in their thoughts in regard to respecting the law.

Some governments make it obligatory to learn law at high school, considering this as an antidote against the incidence of crime. Although such a thing is not possible here in our country, we need to strengthen the programme of justice in the journal of law and the newspapers that are published in the country, whether they are the dailies like «Xiddigta Oktoober», or a weekly like «Heegan». In the same manner, such a programme should be carried out in the orientation centres and other meeting-places.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LAW AND POLITICS

A Misconception:

It is noteworthy that some

people labour under a misconception that policy is above the law. The truth is that policy gives birth to the law in accordance with the general well-being of the people. It is, of course, possible to find a law whose original objectives have changed, for society is not stagnant. Certain laws might have functioned for a long time, but there comes a moment when the need to modify them arises in order to fit them to the new conditions the life of a certain society. To be able to do so and adopt them to the new interests of a society we should not campaign against the laws themselves as if they were obstacles to the development of the society and its policy. We should rather change the laws and initiate others that conform to the general interests and the predominant political view.

There is need to appraise the changing conditions in a society and to see whether the existing laws keep abreast of new developments not. Such assessment will help us to avoid unnecessary pitfalls in the application of laws in situations that might have been foreseen to arise but are non-existent. It will help us conversely to eliminate laws that are unapplicable or are mere deadwood.

We should always bear in mind to overthrow overboard such laws that do not serve the larger interests of the people or are not in the spirit of the existing policy of the country.

Problems arise due to the variety of opinions among people. This is because no two persons can be of identical views on knowledge. Hence what is considered by some as good policy might be considered to be socially harmful to others.

Hence the only thing that can bind people of such differing opinions and views together is the law which by itself express and represent the policy of the country.

And once the law becomes operative no one has the right to question its validity in regard to the general interests of the country or the existing political line, for otherwise such differences would merely betray personal interests.

The point is that the policy of the country should bring forth the law, taking into consideration the general wealth of the people and the objective conditions of the society and its future destiny.

When the law becomes effective it is above anyone, and no one can debate about it on the grounds that it does not serve national interests. Laws cannot be considered to be of a dubious nature. They are either valid or not. If they are not they should be abrogated.

This is the only way of avoiding the misconception we have already mentioned. Laws should be crystal clear and they should allow no loopholes for criminals to escape through.

PARTY LIFE



MASS RALLY

Amammoth rally in support of the forthcoming Extraordinary Party Congress was staged by the revolutionary forces in Mogadishu on the 23 of November.

Taking part in the rally were hundreds of thousands of people living in the city led by Party members and the social organisations.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Revolutionary Forces marched through the main streets of the city chanting revolutionary songs and carrying placards and banners, displaying that they are unanimous in their support of the central committee decision to hold an Extra-ordinary Party Congress. Appearing at the foremost were the photograph of the General Secretary of the SRSP, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, and the National and Party flags.



The revolutionary forces then converged at the unknown soldier's monument where speeches about the purpose for which, the mass rally was staged, were delivered.

The first speeches were made by representatives of the executive committees of the social organisations who on behalf of their respective

organisations expressed their total support to the SRSP in view of the vanguard role the party plays in national development and consolidation of independence hailed for an Extra-ordinary Party Congress to be convened.

Later, the regional party Secretary of Benadir Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah delivered a welcoming speech.

The Assistant General Secretary of the SRSP, Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor delivered a rousing speech in which he spoke about the objective of holding the Extra-ordinary Party Congress.

Jaalle Ismail stressed that the party, which is open to every Somali in possession of patriotic spirit, is the cornerstone of the struggle towards unity and the ful-



filment of the aspirations of the Somali people.

Speaking about the anti-revolutionary forces, the Assistant General Secretary of the SRSP gave credit to the victories achieved by the Revolution and pointed out the link between the reactions and colonialism.

Jaalle Ismail emphasized

that the party enjoys the support of, and is dependent on the progressive forces who are ready to defend the gains of the Revolution and realize its objectives. The party does not offend any one, but the internal and external enemies in the event of any provocation would be dealt with harshly, he added

Jaalle Ismail urged the

progressive forces to launch an open war against anything that could hamper the progress of the Revolution. These include clanism; favouritism, corruption etc.

Also present at the mass rally were the chairman of the social organisations and members of the Central Committee.

An Important Gathering



On the 13th of December, an important gathering attended by the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre took place at the National Theatre.

The gathering was organised by the Party Committee for Benadir region which has been engaged in steps aimed at promoting the living conditions of the people.

Attending the meeting were national and regional committees entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out the above stated Benadir Regional Party Com-

mittee, Party Committees and cells of Benadir districts; Party cells at work spots, commandants of Police

Stations, Regional defense Committee, October Revolutionary flowers and National artiste troupes.

First, a drama was presented by Waberi artiste troupe. The drama was well admired by the spectators.

The Regional Party Secretary of Benadir Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah then made a speech of welcome.

The General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre who delivered a short speech urged the Revolutionary forces to be ever vigilant.

Present at the meeting also were members of the Party Politburo and Central Committee.



Party tours of inspection

On the 21st of November, Party delegations left the capital city on tours of inspection which took them to all parts of the country.

Their tours were based on a new activity embarked upon by the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party following the declaration on the 21st October 1978 by the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre of holding an Extraordinary Party Congress.

The party delegations were entrusted to note the following:

1. Complaints of the masses and existing problems.

2. The preparedness of each region and district to the forthcoming Party Congress.

3. Implementation of building up Party structures.

4. Matters pertaining to party life and membership.

5. Level of economic development.

6. Cooperation between Party and Government.

7. And if there exists any complaints by the Regions against the Party headquarters;

During their tours, the party delegations held various meetings with the party committees and cells as well as government officials. They also met the masses.

In some places, the tours of the Party delegations coincided the District Party meetings where they took the opportunity to witness and appreciate the high level of political consciousness attained by the Somali people.

Political Science Institute

produces first batch of graduates

The graduation ceremony for the first batch of graduates from the Political Science Institute was held on the 30th of December at Haldane. The ceremony was abided by the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre who in a speech delivered on the occasion commended the Somali instructors of the Institute for having, after the departure of the foreign teachers, successfully covered the programme of the Institute. The President equally praised the students on their part for their strenuous efforts to complete their University studies despite propaganda by the reactionaries intended to demolish their studies.

The General Secretary of the SRSP elaborated the policy of the Revolution towards

the development of the Somali Society and cited the consistent efforts accomplished in the struggle to fight the three enemies of mankind namely Ignorance, Poverty and Disease.

The president shed light on the mistakes of those who distort and misinterpret socialism and called upon them to correct themselves. He declared that the Revolution is strong enough to resist the internal and external enemies.

The General Secretary of the SRSP awarded degrees to the students and urged them to continue their struggle to learn more and sincerely serve their people.

The students who have completed their studies number 245 of whom 83 have

finished university level education while the rest are on a one-year programme.

Prior to the President's speech, the artistic troupe of the Ministry of Education presented a drama depicting the historical struggle of the Somali people. Speeches were also delivered by the Director and Assistant Director of the Institute as well as a representative of the graduating students.

Attending the graduation ceremony also were Vice-presidents Jaalle Brig. General Ismail Ali Abokor and Jaalle Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah, members of CC, Party functionaries, representatives of Social organisations and government officials.

WORLD AFFAIRS

**FAKE ELECTIONS**

BY, BOBE

The continent of Africa has lived through a bitter struggle, marked by several stages of various phases of ups and downs, so as to regain her freedom that was forcibly usurped by foreign aggressors coming overland and by sea. Although colonialism has made every effort to stay on in our continent, today forty-nine African countries belong to the OAU which is devoted to the realization of the aspirations of the peoples of Africa, and to attain for them full freedom in every aspect. There are still today several countries under the colonial yoke, although even some so-called independent African countries are really suffering from neo-colonialism which is worse than the traditional one. In actual fact, the African freedom struggle is passing through its second stage.

Among the regions where colonialism is lingering on and where minority regimes are ensconced are South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

In Namibia, which has been formerly known as South west Africa, German Colonialism has been succeeded by British and South African Colonialism.

Jealous of Namibia's wealth, South Africa denies the former its independence. South Africa has also turned a deaf ear to Namibian and world public opinion demands for free-



edom to Namibia which has decided to achieve by if nothing short of armed struggle led by SWAPO. This front (SWAPO) came into being out of that association known as «Ovambaland» that was made up of Namibian students and workers that initiated the association in 1958 under the leadership of Herman Torvo who is in jail in the Robben Island.

The association set down as its objective the abolition through a fierce campaign of the form of contracts entered into with its workers.

This was an issue on which all other similar organisations had foundered. Although SWAPO has its following in the Northern Part of Namibia where half of the population lives its membership is increasing as more and more people join it daily. SWAPO is internally recognized as a political Party but it has been waging a bitter armed strug-

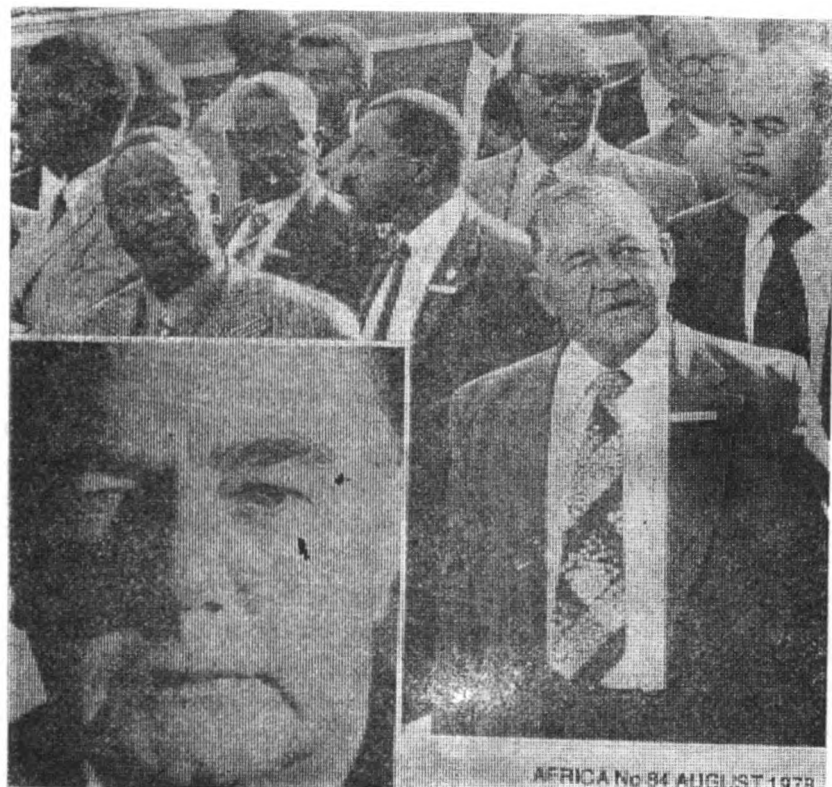
gle outside since 1966.

SWAPO is a very big front that has many branches inside Namibia. The front has female Youth and adult organizations. The workers' association of Namibia is also affiliated to the front. It is from these various organizations that SWAPO draws its strength, and is therefore able to wage a relentless struggle against the minority regime of South Africa and its allies.

SWAPO has been recognized as the sole legitimate front of the Namibian people realizing that it is a force to reckon with, some Western countries tried to mediate between South Africa and SWAPO. But this did not bear any fruit, and talks were dead locked on the question of elections in Namibia (See page 22 of «Halgan» Sept.-Oct. 1978 issue).

South Africa held fake elections in Namibia in the first week of December and spent six million Rand on this unilateral initiative. The so-called elections lasted for five days and the results were denounced by the U.N.O. and the whole World at large as null and void. According to figures given by Windhoek, registered persons were estimated 412,000 out of which 37% went to the polls. The votes were cast in three hundred and fifty fixed spots and eleven mobile vans.

The lackey South African



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association known as the Turnhalle Democratic Association also took part in these illegal elections. The elections were made on the basis of ballot box stuffing for the true representatives of the people of Namibia, SWAPO, boycotted the elections. The elections went in other words, according to a pre-arranged plan.

These false elections cannot deter the liberation struggle in which the Namibian

people are engaged. Such elections are not quite new. They are similar in nature to Ian Smith's so-called agreement with Muzerewa and company which has not materialized until today. Just as the British and American machinations have failed in Zimbabwe so will all such plots fail in Namibia. The often declared one man one vote principle shows us clearly that the main objective is not to res-

pect majority rule, as events have proved in Namibia but to entrench the minority racist regime in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Experience has taught SWAPO that elections are not the means to attain freedom so long as South African troops are staying in their country. It has also become obvious that South Africa is applying the outmoded tactic of «Divide and Rule» by creating enmity among tribes, a factor that has helped SWAPO win over the majority of the people.

The Programme of SWAPO which was passed by SWAPO's central committee in Lusaka in 1976 affirms that the remaking of Namibian society economically as an independent nation that is united on democratic principles implies the re-creation of that society without classes. Just as Zimbabwe has opted for armed struggle so has also SWAPO committed itself to continue such struggle, for history has testified that free elections can be held only when colonialism has been liquidated and the masses assume power. Victory will be for the freedom-fighting people of Namibia.



Perspective on the Camp David Accords

By, Abdi Awale Jama

The Camp David accords as they stand in the two separate documents: Separate peace treaty with Egypt and the framework for peace in the Middle East are suffering from three fundamental misconceptions:

- 1) Lack of explicit recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian peoples. That's their right to self-determination.
- 2) The total withdrawal

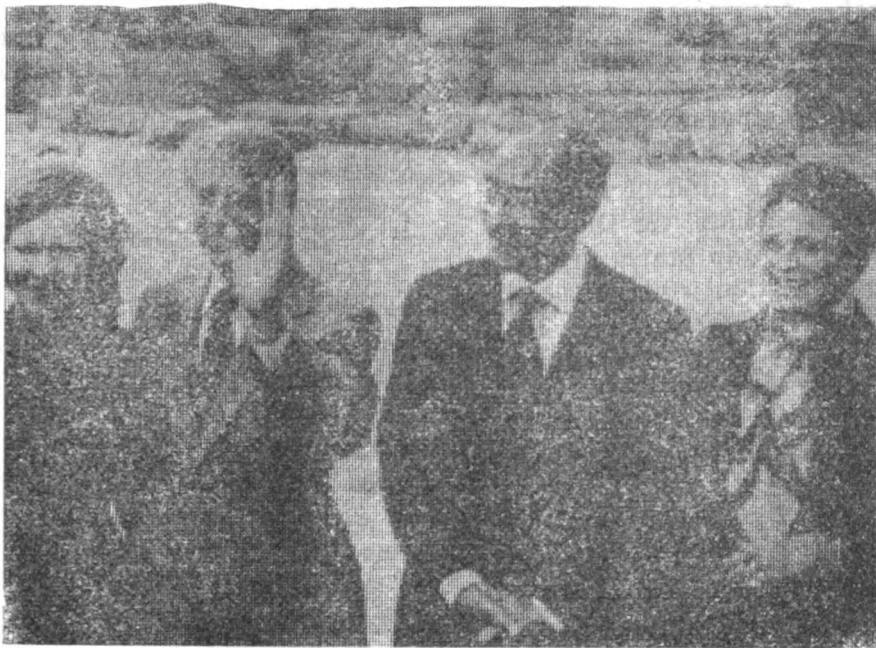
from Arab lands occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, what is implied here is the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories through war and its subsequent colonisation through the Settlement scheme.

3. The wrong assumption that lasting peace could be achieved through the cooption of one

Arab State with considerable weight in the balance of power equation of the Middle East.

The presumptuous assumption underlined here is that this policy after all serve the interest of Israel. This is self-evident in the present form of the Camp David accords which undoubtedly tilts towards serving the larger interest of Israel rather than the Arabs.

Therefore, it is appropriate



here to pinpoint the view of Mr. Begin himself concerning the above accords: «He has seen the advantage to Israel relinquishing Egyptian territory in exchange for the prospect of retaining practically everything else: effective control of the west Bank, and Gaza, the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. Mr. Begin's pronouncements ever since the end of the summit meeting at Camp David have made it plain that this is how he interprets the results he achieved there».¹

On the other hands the apologist for president Sadat maintain that by taking the enormous problems of over population, transportation and housing facing Egypt makes him (Sadat) a realistic man to seek peace with Israel. Further they observe that Sadat is responsive to the pressing needs of his peoples. Hence they believe that «No other Arab Government can so ill-afford the diversion of its resources to external tasks which are not vital for its survival».²

Here the allusion is to the Palestinian Question. Thus what is conspicuous in the above interpretation is the creation of discord among the Arab states by capitalizing «on the individual problems

facing each Arab State. This is meant to give it an open endorsement for the pursuance of its particularistic interests which conflict with the higher interest of the Arab nation.

It is within this framework of mind that the salient drawback of Camp David accords are:

- a) Facilitation of super power intervention in the Arab affairs in the form of a trusteeship;
- b) Acknowledge for the first time the legitimacy of Israel occupation of Palestine;
- c) Isolation of Egypt from the Arab nation with reciprocal adverse effects for both;
- d) Limitation of PLO activities and its eventual elimination;

Then, it is self-evident that Mr. Begin has gained the upper hand in the Camp David accords other wise he would not have stated arrogantly «No relinquishing of Zionist sovereignty, no withdrawal of Zionist troops and no end to

the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank; No Palestinian State; no PLO; no implementation of large-scale return of Palestinian refugees to their country; no cessation of Zionist colonisation in the West Bank and Gaza beyond a three month's moratorium; no linkage between the separate Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty and the development of self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza; no return of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty».³

Accordingly, the above quotation from Mr. Begin interpretation of the Camp David accords does not give the Arabs the least advantage to acclaim the above accords. Subsequently, Sadat would have been in an impeccable position had he succeeded in obtaining understanding on the following points:

1. The recognition of the inadmissibility of the holding of territory by force;
2. Recognition of Arab sovereignty over occupied lands;
3. Implementation of UN resolution concerning the Palestinian question and their legitimate right for self-determination;
4. Stoppage of Zionist settlement in the occupied Arab territories as a result of 1967 war during the transitional period to self-rule in Gaza and West Bank;
5. A positive stand with respect to the question of Arab Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

Therefore, in the absence

of the aforesaid concession Arab states have been unanimous in their condemnation of the Camp David accords. That is why viable Arab options has meant the creation of Politico-Military alliance with the backbone of Syria and Iraq and the reactivation of the Northern and Eastern front with Israel in the

wake of the loss of the Southern front. They also called upon Sadat not to proceed signing separate peace treaty with Israel. Furthermore, they allocated a fund of nine (9) Billion dollars for the PLO and the Arab States in direct confrontation with Israel. The above manifestations have been the outcome of the re-

cent historic Arab summit held in Baghdad, the Capital of the Republic of Iraq.

NOTES

1. «Editorial»; The Middle East International, November, 1978, P. 3.
2. Ibid., P. 4
- 3 Ibid., P. 8



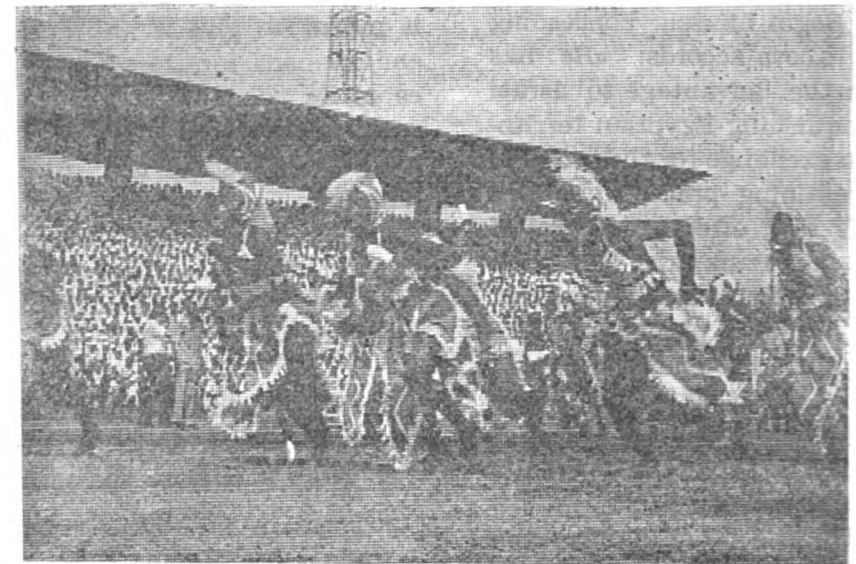
The XI Congress of the PDG - Guinea on the move

By, Hussein M. Adan

The Eleventh Congress of the Parti Democratique de Guinee, (PDG), was convened in Conakry from the 17th to the 21st November, 1978. As described by the Article 51 of the PDG, the Congress consisted of:

- The members of the Central Committee of the PDG,
- Two delegates, elected from each of the sections of the PDG,
- The members of the National Committee of the Guinea youth organisation, Youth for the Democratic African Revolution (JRD-A).
- The members of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Union of the Guinea Women;
- The members of the National Committee of the National Confederation of Guinea workers.

Altogether 1,054 delegates attended the Congress: 346 were involved in the teaching profession; 144 in general



administration; 125 in health work; 291 in Agriculture; 56 technicians and workers; 34 engineers; 5 magistrates; 32 employed in trade; 6 involved in security, 20 in Agricultural co-ordination; 5 from the armed forces.

The Congress was observed by about 109 foreign delegations representing various national parties, such as the SRSP delegation, and international organisations.

The theme of the Eleventh congress was: «Enhance the people's power». Briefly and essentially this meant increa-

sing popular control over the government administration.

Among other things, this involves the setting up of various administrative posts to be filled through party-type elections, for example the position of regional governors.

Previously all such posts were filled through direct appointment by the President.

From now on, they will be filled through a system of elections, involving popular participation. The slogan of the Congress was: «Put the Right man for the Right job».

In order to promote all

means to allow and enhance popular control and participation in governmental affairs, the Congress has adopted the title of «Party-State» to mark the current phase of the history of Guinea.

At the opening of the Congress, the audience heard a magistral central report read for 7 hours by the Secretary-General of the PDG and President of Guinea, Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure. The report covered the general laws of social development and their specific manifestation in Africa and in Guinea in particular. It explained the origins, nature and development of the PDG and the Guinea revolution. It dealt with various aspects of political, economic, social and cultural development in Guinea.

President Ahmed Seku Toure explained Guinea's new diplomatic offensive. He pointed out that, ever since the Monrovia conference early in 1978, Guinea has chosen to improve its relations with the Ivory Coast and Senegal.

This is a question of peaceful co-existence, a question of improving relations bet-

ween sister countries with different ideological positions.

President Seku Toure emphasised that the diplomatic offensive does not imply a change in Guinea's policies.

He repeatedly stressed that Guinea's revolutionary choice rests as that of country that has chosen the socialist road to development.

The Congress elected a politbureau of 15, including Secretary-General Ahmed Seku Toure. Each of Guinea's 34 regional delegations had one vote; the three social organisations for youth, women and workers each had one vote, making up a maximum of 37 votes for each of the 14 politbureau members the Congress. Some of the other 14 politbureau members polled the maximum 37 votes, others polled 35, others 32, 28 or 22 votes. The last member to qualify for the politbureau polled 18 votes.

The Congress decided to elect the rest of the Central Committee members in special sessions to be held in May 1979.

By then the PDG will have a central committee of 75 members and a politbureau of 15.

Elections for Guinea's National Assembly or parliament will also be held later this year

Among other things, the congress, adopted a new name for the country: The Popular Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. At the conclusion of the Congress, President Seku Toure revealed that oil can now be added to the list of Guinea's natural resources, although not specifying in what quantities.

He pointed out that explorations conducted by the state oil enterprise and its United States, French and Yugoslav associates had confirmed the existence of off-shore deposits. Guinea already possessed more, then two thirds of the world's known reserves of bauxite (aluminium ore), over 40,000 million tonnes of iron ore, most of it of high grade as well as uranium, diamonds, copper and manganese. A great many of west African rivers originate in Guinea, giving it great agricultural and hydroelectric potential.

A new five-year plan will be launched in 1979 and this will need an «unprecedented level» of capital investment. In putting greater stress on economic development, President Seku Toure underlined that Guinea is still committed to follow the socialist path while desiring broad international cooperation «without exclusivity» so as to consolidate her peoples independence and promote their standards of living.

To mark the Congress, the President freed a number of political prisoners. He also pardoned and welcomed back home all those Guineans who were living as exiles abroad in various countries. The Congress manifested a spirit of



forgive and forget, a call for national reconciliation and unity.

All in all, the Congress heard 38 national addresses and about 65 messages and greetings from foreign delegations (a copy of the message read at the Congress by the SRSP delegation is included in this issue of HALGAN).

Among important foreign dignitaries to visit Guinea for the Congress and the celebrations of November 22: the Vice President of Rumania, the Vice-Prime Minister of Vietnam, Mr. Edgar Faure representing the President of France and Mr. Andrew Young representing American President Carter.

Prior to the Congress, an International Colloquium on Ideology was held in Conakry from the 13th to the 16th of November 1978. Its main theme was «Africa on the Move». The format consisted of the PDG presenting formal papers on each of the following subthemes:

a) The struggle for national liberation,

c) The Basis for the promotion of independent economic development,

d) the conditions and means of promoting dynamic cultural policies;

e) The demands for consolidating African Unity;

b) from the people's rights to human rights, a paper read by President Seku Ture himself;

f) Religion and revolution, also presented by President Seku Toure himself, who served as chairman of the International Colloquium on Ideology and later, of the Eleventh Congress of the PDG.

During the International Colloquium, the SRSP presented a paper on the cultural policies and achievements of the Somali Revolution.

Guinea is situated in West Africa sharing borders with Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The Capital, Conakry is a Port-City on the Atlantic Coast. The country has an area of 245,857 Square Kilometres and a population of five (5) million. Guinea is the only French colony which voted «NO» in the De Gaulle proposed referendum of September 28, 1958. Guinea repelled a portuguese sponsored invasion on November 22, 1970. Guinea's important National Languages include Malinke, Jula, Susu and five others. The majority of its people (over 70 per cent) are Muslims, the rest follow traditional African religions and Christianity. The ruling Party in Guinea since 1959 is the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG). The mass organisations include: the Youth of the African Democratic Revolution (JRDA), the Revolutionary Union of Guinea Women (URFG), the Agricultural Production and Consumer Cooperative (COPAC) and the National Confederation of Guinea Workers (CNTG).

Comrades
Don't Miss Your English Issue
of Halgan Every Month

MONTHLY BULLETIN

*General Ho Cheng-weng visits Somalia*

The first Vice-President, Jaalle Lt. General Mohamed Ali Samatar received the Assistant General Chief of staff of the Chinese Peoples Army, Comrade Ho Cheng-Weng in his office on the 8th Nov. 1978.

They discussed ways of further strengthening relations between the armed forces of the two countries.

Comrade Ho Cheng-Weng and his delegation also laid a wreath at the unknown soldiers monument in Mogadishu.

The delegation which arrived in Somalia on the 7th on an official visit participated in a banquet staged in their honour by Jaalle Brig. General Yusuf Ahmed Salhan upon arrival.

The Chinese delegation led by Comrade Ho Cheng-Weng on the 11th November extended a visit to Kismayo, the regional capital of Lower Juba.

During the 2 — day stay, they paid visits to Jamame Banana plantations and Sanguni where the Equator passes.

The delegation participated in a grand ceremony held in their honour at Alanley Orientation Center of Kismayo. The ceremony was also attended by the lower Juba regional authorities, heads of social orga-



nizations and the general Public of Kismayo.

In a speech on the occasion, Comrade Ho Cheng Weng thanked the regional authorities and populace for the warm welcome extended to him and his delegation. Ho also expressed his deep appreciation of the unity of the region's inhabitants which he said will greatly help in the development of the region in particular and the country generally.

The first Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Lt. General

Mohamed Ali Samatar held a second round of talks at the conference hall of the Defence Ministry with the visiting Chinese delegation led by the Assistant General Chief of staff of the Chinese people army Ho Cheng.Weng.

The Leaders discussed relations between the armies of Somalia and China.

The Chinese delegation left Mogadishu on 16th November at the end of a 7 days official visit to the SDR.

Jaalle Kulmie award certificates

Vice-President Jaalle Hussein Kulmie Afrah awarded certificate to 315 students who graduated from the Mogadishu and Hargeisa health schools at the National

Theatre in Mogadishu on the 9th of December 1978

The graduates, who completed two years of training include Medical Nurses, General health nurses, Labora-



tory technicians, and radiologists.

In a speech on the occasion, Jaalle Kulmie congratulated the students on their graduation. He spoke at length on the responsibilities of the Ministry of Health in raising the level of our general public health.

«The services of the Ministry directly affect the society thus an efficient enhancement of its work can be felt by the society at large. It should therefore self-

lessly carry out its duties», he stressed.

He expressed his deep appreciation of the achievements of the Ministry and the work of its staff in their fight against disease.

He also underscored the importance of maintaining individual cleanliness and alertness against anything which causes diseases to spread.

«Only a health society could attain rapid develop-

ment in every aspect: be it political or economic and it could defend its territory from its enemies» he pointed out.

Jaalle Kulmie urged the graduates to serve their people honestly and fulfill their national duties with diligence and patriotism.

The Minister of health, Jaalle Muse Rabile also spoke on the occasion about the successes achieved by the Revolution in the field of health.

He disclosed that 1410 students have so far graduated from the health schools of the country and 1153 are now under training; and added that 2000 students are expected to graduate by the year 1982 from these schools in addition to 500 medical doctors from the medical college during the same period.

The ceremony was also attended by the mayor of Mogadishu, Jaalle Yuusuf Ibrahim and the resident representative of the World Health Organisation in Somalia.

Seminar on Mass Media

The Minister of Information and National Guidance Jaalle Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein opened a month's Seminar on communication and Mass Media on 20th November.

The Seminar, which is the first of its kind in the country, has been organized by the Arab Centre for the studies of Information related to Population Development.

In his opening speech, the

Minister said the Seminar would enable our Media staff to learn from the experience of their Arab brethren in Communication and Media.

He said the centre has been established for the interests of the Arab people and added that this has been achieved after rapid strides were taken in the developments of Arab Information services.

He underscored the role

of Information service in the development of a nation and added that the development of Arab Information services would further help in the realization of the aspirations of Arab people.

«Improving our Mass Media will assist us in identifying and achieving our objectives and help us combat the propaganda of our enemies. It will also help us in informing the World of the rights of the people strugg-

ling for their freedom specially our Arab brothers of Palestine, Western Somali and Eritrea and our African brothers of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa» the minister said.

Developed information services can save the world from catastrophes, aggression and the like; assist colonized peoples present their cause to the international community and help in the spreading of knowledge to the world, he said.

He pointed out that our information services helped in the orientation and guidance of our masses and have pioneered in demonstrating to our people the right path to development and the achievement of the aspirations of our people and uncovering the sinister tactics, of the enemies of the Arab people.

He told the Arab experts running the seminar that they would witness with their own eyes Somalia's

development during the Revolutionary Era during their stay here and added that this has been achieved through the unity and hard work of our people. He said that our Information services have been the catalyst of our development.

The Chairman of the Arab Centre for the studies of Information related to population development, Mr. Abdi Mumin Mohamed Al-Sawi spoke on the occasion about the Centre, its objectives, its present and past activities.

He said that the Centre has been established Five (5) years ago during which it has played a significant role in raising the knowledge of Arab Journalists and Improving Arab Media.

Meanwhile on 22nd November the chairman of the Ideology Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Aadan Sheik gave a lecture in the Seminar on Information and Communication for the Somali Jour-

nalists.

«The strategy and objectives of Mass Media in our country is to develop our country economically, politically, educationally, socially and in the field of health and added «the strategy of our information services is geared towards countering anything which poses an obstacle to our revolution, to improve the lives of our people and to orient and educate them so as to facilitate the realization of our people's aspirations».

Jaalle Mohamed stressed that it is the responsibility of our journalists to inform the people on our Revolution's objectives and policies. He said that they should fulfil their national obligations with diligence and patriotism.

He expressed his appreciation of the rapid strides made in the improvement and development of our Mass Media during the Revolutionary Era.

Foreign Minister Briefs Reporters

«The 33rd session of the United Nations General Assembly discussed, among other things, the Liberation of colonized peoples, co-operation among United Nations member states and the establishment of a new and more equitable economic order» said the SDR foreign minister, Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Barre in an interview with Somali reporters on the 14th Nov. in Mogadishu.

The minister, who led the SDR delegation to the 33rd session, delivered a long speech at the United

Nations on the SDR views in respect of the agenda of the meeting and the issue of the Abyssinian-colonized Somali people.

The minister pointed out that the delegates to the meeting have understood the rightful case of the Western Somali people and the need for a peaceful settlement of the issue.

He said that the Assembly has underscored that the only viable solution for the problem was the recognition of the inalienable rights of

these people to self determination in accordance with the charters of the United Nations, the organization of the African Unity, and the non-Alligned nations which is the path through which most of the independent countries attained their freedom.

The minister while speaking on the Namibian issue, said that the SDR expressed its support for an independent Namibia where the people of the country enjoy full freedom unlike the artificial independence which the Racist South Africa

is concocting. He wished freedom for the Namibian people and hoped that Namibia would take its rightful seat in the United Nations and the OAU next year.

Commenting on the international economic situation Jaalle Abdirahman said that the SDR believes in an international economic relations between developing and developed countries.

«The SDR favours a policy of co-operation, mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence among peoples» he pointed out.

Jaalle Abdirahman noted that although positive steps have been taken on disarmament, yet a true disarmament

policy can only be possible if the super-powers are willing to act in good faith in giving practical expression to the desire of mankind for a nuclear-free world.

He said that the major obstacle to complete disarmament is posed by imperialist countries which expand their military arsenal from day to day in an effort to threaten people under their influence and control.

«The people of the world should realize the evils of colonialism and recognize the right of peoples to self-determination and fully appreciate the values of co-operation and peaceful co-existence» he said. He added

that our views were accepted by the delegates to the assembly.

The minister also paid a visit to Sweden at the invitation of the Swedish government where he participated in a symposium on the Horn of Africa issue attended by intellectuals and diplomats held at the Swedish Institute for International Relations.

In the symposium the minister delivered a lecture on the history of black colonialism in the Horn of Africa, the situation presently obtaining there and the long struggle of the Abyssinian colonized peoples for their freedom.

NOTICE

We remind the readers that Halgan, the official organ of the CC of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, comes out in three languages: monthly Somali and English issues and trimontly Arabic issue.

Copies are available in:

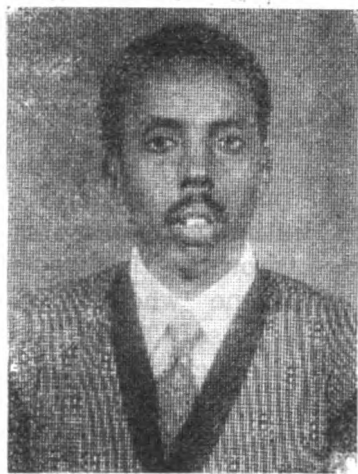
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CULTURE AND ART



WORKERS AND ART

By, Rashid Sh. Abdullahi



Labour is the basis of man's existence. Not only that it is also the motive force behind the very thoughts of man, his consciousness, his ideas and art.

This is a historical fact. Human beings everywhere are relative with each other through labour. It is through such intercourse that we can discover their relationships and the ideas they exchange.

Now we can put the question: is a worker an artist or can he be one's.

It is true that manual labourers have been oppressed both physically and mentally so much so that some of them may sink to a servile state that has killed their intellectual activities, thus depriving them of any initiative in thinking, scientific knowledge, literature and art in general. Such a situation has been noticed to exist in all the societies whose system was based on oppressing the working people. But

inspite of that, even in such societies struggle of these workers has resulted in the production of many working class genius who became famous for the ideas expressed in arts and literature.

However the intellectual capacity has come into action when a society of the workers was established and social oppression was eliminated. Such a society enabled the working people to get the education formerly to them and made it possible for them to take control of their own production and to be the masters of their own destiny. It is then that the abilities of the working people became manifest which appeared in the sciences and technical know-how on which they constantly improved and in the ideas, philosophy, the management of social life, the

arts and the literature that were wrested from the hands of a minority and became the property of the masses whereby millions of people made innovations daily.

This experience has unmasked the fiction propagated and publicized by the outdated forces in order to cover themselves and mislead the working masses. The propaganda of such people has been and still is that only those who are fed well and are wealthy have the best brains, can think and create the theories of sciences arts and «belles lettres», and that the idiots are those who and cannot use their brains. consequently being responsible for their poverty.

How many people are born geniuses but who may not be known or do not know themself-





ves or their genius is dried up how many of them are nomads farm a small plot of land or are black-smiths, are stevedores or are watchmen; suffice it to point to the role they play in production and the technical and mechanical skills of the various professions. The valuable steps the General federations of the Somali Trade Unions have taken in this regard.

XUSUUS BAND AND THE WORKERS' ARTS

«Xusuus» is the name of a small artistic group which has its musical band, singers, and poets. It is a very young Band which is not two years old yet. The credit for its creation goes to the General Federation of Somali Trade Union the «GFTSU» in general, Jaalle Abdi Muhumed Amin who is a wellknown artist and worker, Abdi Alasow, Abukar Ali and Ibrahim Idow.

When was the Band created? How was it created? What stages has it passed through? What are its achievements and what are the difficulties it is confronted with?

I asked such questions and others to Jaalle Abdi Muhumed Amin who is the secretary of the department of the GFTSU, and is responsible for the Band. This is the result of the inter-

view which I have not put in the form of questions and answer but can be summarized thus:

FOUNDATION OF XUSUUS

After the General federation of the Somali Trade Unions was founded an arts branch was created under the executive committee of the GFTSU.

Later it occurred to the founders of this branch that the talents of the working people should find a way of coming out to the open. The difficulty was how to discover or to distinguish such gifted people. The answer to this was to open a musical school that would manifest



these Artistic abilities. Those who have gone to this school were the nucleus of the workers artistic troupe. The school was opened on October, 25, 1977.

But how the enrollment was made at the school? The first step was, accordingly to Abdi Muhumed, to ask the different Trade Unions to send people to this school. And recruits were made from these. However, this step did not prove very successful, for immediately many of those attending stopped coming at all. And later it was found out that the methodology of choice had been haphazard and unfruitful, for it was based on

official recommendations and no screening had been made as to the aptitude of those enrolled. Some had come to the school with the idea that learning music was a thing that did not require much effort and time, a subject that could be mastered within a matter of three months. But as things turned out many were to leave soon for they were disenchanted.

Then the school began publicizing its intentions and invited the public to participate in the initiative of learning music, throwing the doors open to anyone who was inclined to do so. This was done by announcing in the Somali daily «Hiddigta October». This step was more effective than the former for it elicited an interest in those who decided for themselves that they would join and continue learning. The new method also did away with the idea that the workers were a separate class from which recruitment for this type of school could be made. Hence people came from all walks of life to attend this school, and therefore there were civil servants, employees of agencies, private workers, teachers, university graduates, students and other unemployed persons.

Truly, learning music is more difficult than as it seems at first, particularly when it is scientifically taught and the notations are taken as basic. can say that we have a long way to go. However, a lot of effort has been put in to attain the present stage. The principles of music and the notations were the first things to be given priority. And, the training went on like that for sometime. It was then that the use of musical instrumen-



ts was taught and to play them to the accompaniment of music as written in notations. It took no less than a year to create a presentable Band. Although prior to that some shows had been staged it was on October, 1, 1978 that the Band came of age. Among the shows which the Band presented to public attention were the competition held for the «BarKhad-As» Cup. This was the first public show of the Band and it was held at the Fair grounds during that month. There were also the I'd Al Adha celebra-

tions in which the company participated recently in the Arab Emarates to which it was sent.

PRESENT STAGE

There is still room for improvement. The Band is under training and it can not be said to have attained perfection. But it can be said that in music, great progress beyond the expectations of anyone has been made. But there is a shortage of singers and acting leaves much to be desired.

DIFFICULTIES

The problem is that the means fall far short of the requirements in equipment, teachers and funds. Although the number of workers is on the increase, the present enrollment is limited. But the problems are not going to be a permanent obstacle. And the future looks brighter.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the existing difficulties there is no doubt its own feet. And this it has that the Band is standing on achieved in a very short period. It is something to be admired that it can compete and even surpass in certain aspects the other Bands which are older than it is. The singing voice of Jaalle Baasharah for example is a credit to the Band and it has a melody of its own that is unprecedented in other Somali songs. It can be definitely said that the Band is progressing by leaps and bounds and it will not be long before the company will take its place in the forefront.

BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



*Problems of Socialist Orientation Edited
by Mai Palmberg, and Published by
Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*

BY, BAYR

This is a work of great importance turning on a matter of topical relevance, that is the non-capitalist path of development which a number of countries in the third world are charting out for themselves in order to register a progressive transformation in their socio-economic structures. The book consists of a compilation of eleven papers dealing with various aspects of socialist orientation. These eleven articles were submitted in a seminar held in Hanasaari, Finland, by the Scandinavian Institute of Development Studies of the University of Helsinki. A brief scanning over the topic discussed shows their imperativeness as well as its multidimensionality.

The nature of the topics can be gleaned from the following headings: Class struggle, social development and the theory of the non-capitalist path; a non-revolutionary transition to socialism; dependence or development; International inequalities; non-capitalist agriculture and development strategy; application of Marxist reproduction model to developing countries; pitfalls along the non-capitalist path; Somalia's socialist oriented development; Guinea Bissau's conditions of development; problems of socialist orientation in Nasser's Egypt; the political role of the workers in Tanzania and Zambia; and the reports subsequently offered on these articles. As

can be immediately realised the topics are relatively comprehensive, in both the theoretical and practical planes, that they deserve a spirited analysis.

The papers, however, in our opinion are not of equal applicability to our conditions. Some of them contain a mass of factual data which is difficult to transmit or will be relatively monotonous to repeat; others on the other hand are of deep theoretical analysis, which at the sometime are tinged with a practical meaning which deserves our attention. Accordingly, since it is almost painstakingly difficult to cover the contents of all papers in the book thus emphasis will be put on the passages that are of cardinal importance.

The first paper entitled: Class struggle, social development and the theory of the non-capitalist path; takes up the generic evolution of the whole concept. He lays down its theoretical underpinnings which can be summarised as follows:

(i) To creatively develop Marxism in order to provide an understanding of the present objective and subjective possibilities for working class advance on a world scale, without committing the obvious errors of right or «left».

(ii) To recognise the vast variety of circumstances in individual countries and regions, but yet to conceptualise

both the individual variations and regularities to be found in these societies at the immediate post-colonial stage.

(iii) To advance theory in a non-dogmatic manner and therefore to see this approach as «one possible Path» (his italics) from the national movement to socialist construction.

Having correctly delineated this the writer Clive Y. Thomas, goes on to reasonably elaborate on certain major theoretical issues impinging on the topic. Thus he starts an elaboration on the concepts of classes, and class formation, the nature of the state; productive forces and production relations, etc. Thomas's thorough going mastery of classical marxism enables him to penetrate into the essential attributes of the non-capitalist path of development. He posits its strong points while at the sometime rightly pointing to certain intrinsic weaknesses. The political domination of the petty - bourgeois state over state machinery and their dilly-dallying on sharing power with the Marxist-Leninist or Communist elements comes down for an incisive criticism. The vacillations of the petty bourgeois is too well-known thereby Thomas's conclusions do not startle us. Furthermore, Thomas's rightly criticises certain theoretical misconceptions which view the state as autonomous and independent

in conditions of acute class struggle. But besides committing himself to the refutation of theoretical opportunism Thomas outlines the driving forces for the non-capitalist path, i.e. the genuine seeking for economic independence the revolutionary democrats head a major coalition of a number of classes toward non-capitalist and even socialist oriented path. Attendant in this is the call for nationalising expatriate owned property and anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist posture in the international arena. In the sphere of productive forces and production relations Thomas is reluctant to elaborate, he merely sets out the arguments of the proponents of the non-capitalist path of development, and in the end expresses his doubts about how the system of social relations can be transformed radically. Anyway the theoretical postulations of Comrade Thomas allow him to work a comprehensive passage on the criticism and evaluation of the whole concept under discussions.

Lionel Cliffe contributed a paper entitled; A Non-revolutionary Path to Socialism? It is rather perplexing why comrade Cliffe has chosen this title. It may well be that he does not regard the non-capitalist path of development as a revolutionary one, but conceives of it as a quantitative and evolutionary one. Comrade Cliffe is free to do so but the pertinence of his paper lies in the fact that it sheds light on the nature of the national development strategies of countries of socialist orientation. An elucidation on the variables of the economic strategy of attempted disengagement from the international capitalist system embarked upon by certain African countries of a

progressive mould is a task L. Cliffe addresses himself to, and for this we can be thankful. Comrade Cliffe, however, does not forget about the other important factors, such as the political and social ones which augment this process of possible disengagement. In nutshell Cliffe's paper boils down to a discourse on the potentialities of capital accumulation to be derived from the agricultural sector in the redoubled efforts at industrialisation by these countries. Cliffe's paper read in conjunction with papers on: Non-capitalist Agriculture and Development Strategy, by Józef Nowicki; and application of the Marxist Reproduction to the Developing Countries, by Parvis Khalatbari will make a most instructive and beneficial reading.

In Jozef Nowicki's paper the nature and level of agricultural development is given a relatively satisfactory summary. The role of agriculture in the overall development strategy is clearly accented on. Comrade Nowicki in his analysis states, «...This is the reason why profound institutional changes, which really would mean a social revolution, should be treated as pre-conditions for development, especially in the agricultural sector in the less developed countries». In the further emphasis on this point the vital need for an agrarian reform and redistribution of potentially cultivable land; abolition of land renting; extension of irrigation projects; liquidation of usury capital by establishing cheap cooperative credit fertilisers and pesticides, are offered as keynotes in agricultural policy. The institution of such policies, in the opinion of the writer, will not only increase agricultural production but will create employ-

ment for the surplus army of labour found in these countries.

But the chief merit lying in such policies result from the more egalitarian income redistribution in favour of poorer peasants. To strengthen such policies further steps to consolidate them ought be taken such as:

(i) Political ones; ensuring the direct or indirect removal from power the quasi-feudal landlords and remnants of other backward looking social groups;

(ii) economic ones; turning on consistent redistribution of national wealth and income in favour of the most numerous social strata which is vitally interested in development;

(iii) Socio-cultural ones; which are an expression of social justice and a basis for abolishing malnutrition, unemployment, illiteracy and thus to increase the propensity to work and raise its marginal productivity.

Comrade Nowicki's thoughtful and reasoned disquisitions on this topic show their relevance when he is discussing the correlation of industrial and agricultural policies, and the scale of priority to be struck between.

Unlike some dogmatic, one-sided and idealistic theoretical postulates his are characterised by the harmonic, multi-sided weighing of the multiple factors and elements that add up to form a policy, which is a dialectical and sweeping as far as possible. Thus he sees the two as a social whole which act one on the other, and henceforth interact. Therefore for him the only pro-

blem is the practical ways and devices to organically harmonise them. The same methodological approach helps Comrade Nowicki in his dealing with the choice of technology per se contributed to higher agricultural production. In fact he correctly states that the technique promising best result is the one, «...under which smaller capital inputs for improved tools available to small peasants are used by them more efficiently». In his opinion this is the technique which will most help people below the poverty

line, and will in the long run result in greater agricultural productivity».

Addressing himself to food production Comrade Nowicki states that whether agricultural development is being directed along capitalist or non-capitalist lines is judged among other things, by the ultimate aim to which social development is being subordinated. Obviously this will have intimate effect on the priority, or the lack of it, given to food production. Inasmuch as capitalist production is founded on the

maximisation of profits and the exaction of surplus value over the priority on food production and in general social welfare is not likely to gain a topmost importance. It is socialism, founded as it is on catering for the social needs of the working people is capable of giving due emphasis of framing a policy towards an effective food production in developing countries.

The 2nd part of this review will appear in the next issue of Halgan.



Address delivered by the delegation of the SRPS to the Eleventh Congress of the PDG

The Secretary General of the PDG and Supreme leader of the Guinea Revolution, Comrade Ahmed Seku Ture,
Members of the Presidium and invited guests, Delegates to this important congress,

Dear Comrades,

Permit me to convey the sincere greetings and congratulations of our Secretary-General, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, our Party and people to Comrade Ahmed Seku Ture as well as to all the participants at this historic congress of your Party.

We thank you for the invitation to our Party and for the hospitality rendered to us since our arrival in Conakry.

We have learned a great deal during our stay here, the PDG has a lot of experience that should prove useful to our young Party. We sincerely

rely hope to work for closer relations between our two parties, governments and peoples.

Guinea and Somalia are both underdeveloped African states pursuing a similar strategy towards development. Both countries have opted for socialist oriented development. In Somalia, like in Guinea, we have nationalised the major means of production. We have placed emphasis on rural development along non-capitalist lines. We have combatted a serious drought by resettling the nomadic population involved in cooperative communities involving agriculture and fishing.

Like you, we have mobilized our people to construct numerous schools, offices, stores, bridges, roads etc. Through volunteer self-help efforts.

We have also embarked on a dynamic cultural policy

aimed at destroying the bad consequences for colonial and neo-colonial cultural imperialism. A script has been provided for the Somali language which is used in all aspects of administration and public life, in primary and secondary schools and in conducting a series of urban and rural mass literacy campaigns. We are also conducting campaigns against corruption, profiteering and for love of labor and socialism.

One of the most unique things about Guinea is that it constitutes a highly organised society such organisation allowed the people of Guinea to say «No» to French colonialism on September 28, 1958 it allowed the people of Guinea to defeat the naked imperialist aggression of November 22, 1970 such organisation, thanks to the PDG and its Secretary-General, Comrade Ahmed Seku Ture, has permitted Guinea to achieve a great de-

al of progress in political, social, cultural and economic affairs.

We too, come to understand that without organisation we can achieve nothing. Following the revolution of 1969, the Somali people became better organised in order to carry-out the programmes mentioned above the organisation of our people achieved a high point on July 1st 1976 following the creation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. This has been followed by the establishment of mass organisations linked to the Party, these organisations include those for workers, youth, women and cooperatives for Somali peasants, nomads and traders.

Our Party has decided to have an extraordinary congress early in January 1979. The congress will allow our Party to broaden and deepen its socialism orientation. This congress will also help us define the peoples power by setting up a system of democratic elections leading to the creation of a National Assembly similar to the one you already have in Guinea.

Somalia like Guinea constitutes a society profoundly influenced by the religion of Islam. The religious faith of our people historically helped them in the struggle against imperialism, especially against colonial cultural alienation. The Somali Revolution has, therefore paid due respect to

the positive role of religion in our revolution. We have not yet, however, done much theoretical elaboration on this crucial topic. We therefore welcome most sincerely and enthusiastically, the contribution made by Comrade Seku Ture on this important subject.

It is also with great enthusiasm that we welcome the diplomatic offensive of the PDG. We have learned from our own experience that realistic relations with countries of differing ideologies and social systems does not compromise a revolutionary people determined to edify a socialist reconstruction of society.

Guinea and the PDG possess a great deal of matured revolutionary experience symbolised in the person of President Ahmed Seku Ture. We congratulate the PDG for resolving to bring this experience to bear in Monrovia, Khar-toum and elsewhere. At the recent summit of the OAU, President Seku Ture proposed a series of constructive proposals intended to provide African solutions to Africa's problems, including those dividing the brotherly peoples of the Horn of Africa. The great experience, the revolutionary maturity of Guinea should not be isolated, it should spread its wisdom in all corners of Africa and upon the international arena as a whole.

Somalia, like Guinea, remains faithful to an anti-im-

perialist orientation in foreign policy. We strongly support the national liberation struggles of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Azania). We strongly endorse the struggle of the Palestinian people for their just national rights to establish a Palestine state and the struggle of the other Arab peoples to restore their territories illegally occupied by the zionist state of Israel. We have condemned all imperialist manoeuvres and colonialist intrigues aimed at providing fake solutions to the burning problems in Southern Africa and in the Middle East.

We also wish to reaffirm our solid support for all those forces struggling for self-determination and genuine progress in the Horn of Africa. All those struggling to eliminate all the evil consequences of the feudal-colonialist regime that existed in the Horn.

Somalia, like Guinea remains vigilant and faithful to the long struggle of its people against imperialism, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, zionism, the struggles of our people for freedom, peace, equality, the worldwide struggle for socialism and progress.

LONG LIVE THE PDG;

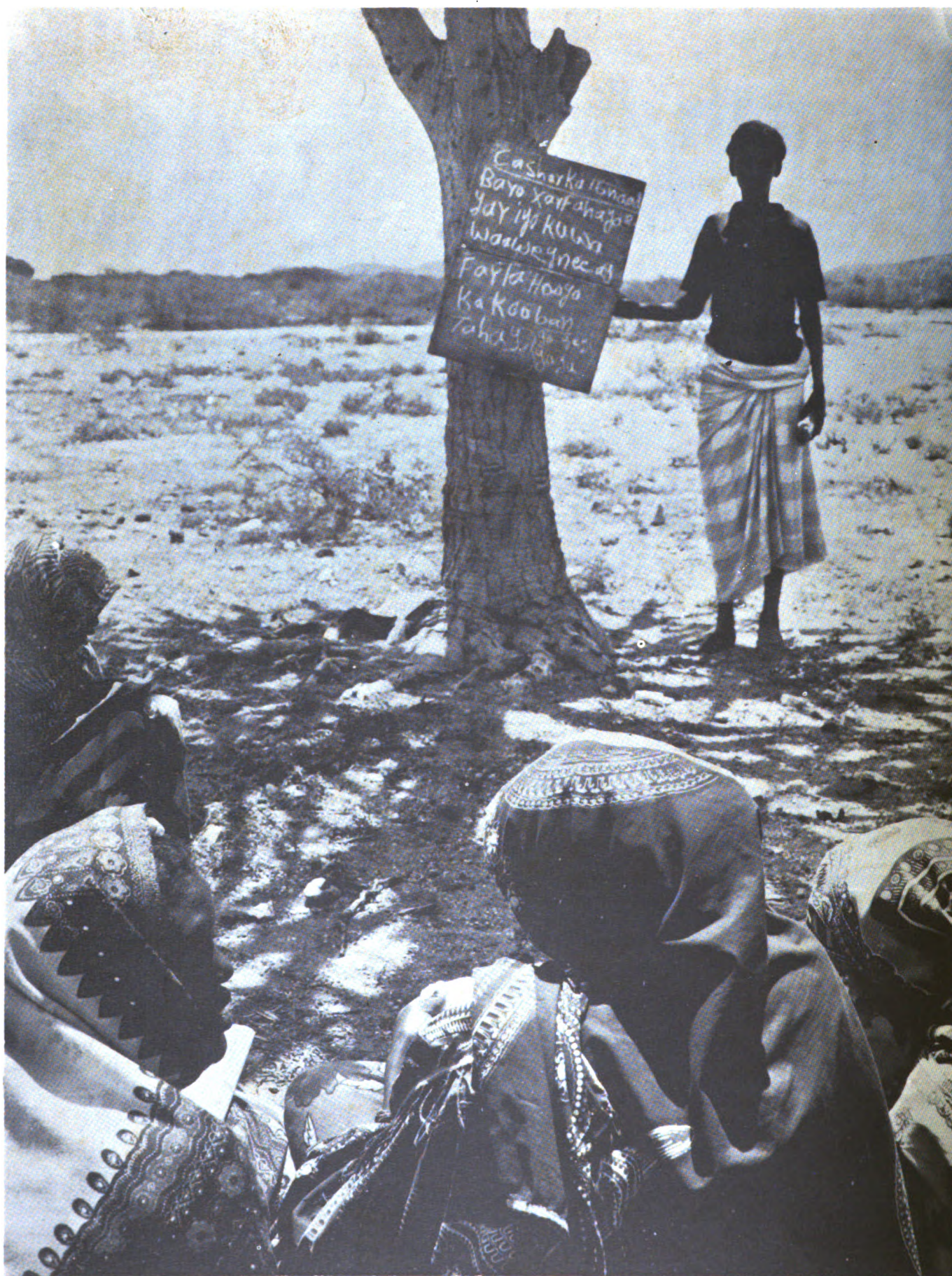
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LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL
SOLIDARITY;

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